

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

MAY, 1891

No. 5

A GREAT PUBLIC CHARACTER

1801-1872

NO period in the world's history has been more remarkable for material progress than that spanned by the life of the great American statesman William H. Seward. The year of his birth was marked by the political whirlwind which placed Thomas Jefferson in the presidential chair of the United States. When Fulton's steamboat first startled the farmers along the Hudson river with the noise of its clumsy machinery and paddle-wheels—the earliest successful application of the steam-engine to ship propulsion—the boy was six years old. The war of 1812 with all its important chain of consequences, the building of the Erie canal, the longest water-way on the globe at the time, the invention of gas, of the railroad, of the magnetic telegraph, the rise of public schools, the establishment of innumerable important and useful institutions, and the foundation of the great newspaper system of the country, were among the swiftly passing events of his maturing individuality. He had for his birthright the intellectual energy of that peculiar age. He was a studious child, and in 1816 entered Union College, then in the zenith of its prosperity under the direction of the able and justly celebrated President Eliphalet Nott, D.D.

From first to last the career of William H. Seward was singularly interesting. His youth was cast among influences which turned his mind toward politics and the law, and years afterward he wrote, "I cannot but think that, at that period when recollections of the Revolution were quite recent, and the world engrossed with the tremendous Napoleonic wars in Europe, men were more intensely earnest than they are now. Of course whatever thoughts I had took their shape and complexion from the debates that I heard on every side." His autobiography covering these years is exceptionally pleasant and instructive reading. But his active experiences in public affairs later on—as governor of New York, as a prominent opponent of slavery in the senate of the United States, and as secretary of state during the turmoils of the late civil war—form a conspicuous feature of our national records.

While young Seward after leaving college was reading law with John Anthon of New York and John Duer and Ogden Hoffman, the celebrated De Witt Clinton was governor of the state, and politics was the chief topic of conversation among all classes of the people. A fierce struggle was going on between the "Bucktails" and the "Clintonians," which finally resulted in a new state constitution framed and adopted in the autumn of 1821. No man in the development of a grand idea for the common good was at this period more abused than De Witt Clinton. The opposing faction styled his prospective canal "a big ditch in which would be buried the treasure of the state, to be watered by the tears of posterity," and interposed every known obstacle in the way of its accomplishment. Mr. Seward was committed through his early training to the support of this faction, but his ideas broadened with his years and opportunities and he actually cast his first vote in 1824 for the Clintonian party. During the same year he first met his lifelong friend Thurlow Weed, under curiously romantic circumstances. He was traveling with some gentlemen in an old-fashioned stage-coach, which suddenly lost a fore-wheel while passing through a street in Rochester, and the passengers were pitched headlong into a muddy ravine. Mr. Seward in describing the accident said, "Among a crowd which quickly assembled one taller and more effective, while more deferential and sympathizing, than the rest lent the party his assistance. This was the beginning of my acquaintance with Thurlow Weed. He had acquired the printer's art through severe trials, was then editing and conducting a newspaper at Rochester, which he printed chiefly with his own hand, and he had already become distinguished for public spirit and eminent ability."

Auburn, the residence of Mr. Seward, was then about as far from New York city in respect to time as Seattle is now. The postage on a letter to Albany was eighteen and three-quarter cents, and to New York City thirty-seven and a half cents. Travelers by stage usually went with their pockets filled with letters which they were conveying for friends to distant places to deliver when their destination should be reached. Frederick W. Seward in his valuable work recently issued in three handsome volumes, entitled *William H. Seward*, has presented much of the personality of his father through the frequent glimpses of his home life, conversation, and correspondence.* The first of these engaging volumes consists of an autobiographical narrative covering the years from 1801 to 1834, followed by a brief memoir and a discriminating selection from many autograph letters

* William H. Seward. By Frederick W. Seward. Vols. I., II., III. 8vo, pp. 832, 650, 720. Profusely illustrated. Derby & Miller, 149 Church street, New York city.

and documents. The second volume continues the story from 1846 to 1861, and throws a most effective light upon the stirring events of that memorable period. In the third volume we have a graphic picture of the secretary of state in the midst of his surroundings at a period when "it required all the wisdom of the wisest and all the bravery of the bravest and all the unrecorded sacrifices of thousands unknown to fame" to prevent destruction of the nation's life.

During no other ten years of American progress did the character of the country change so rapidly and materially as in the decade from 1847



THE OLD STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON.

to 1857. The west was the great disturber of the public repose in its sudden leap into settlement and consequence. Prosperity and population advanced with a celerity unparalleled, while men's opinions were not sufficiently nimble to keep abreast in the race. Problems as well as interests multiplied. The political mind was bewildered with the uncertainties of the situation. At the time William H. Seward was elected to the senate of the United States, in 1849, the city of Washington contained only about forty thousand inhabitants, and in all social and industrial aspects it was a southern town. The streets were unpaved and dusty when they were not muddy, the houses were without numbers and widely scattered,

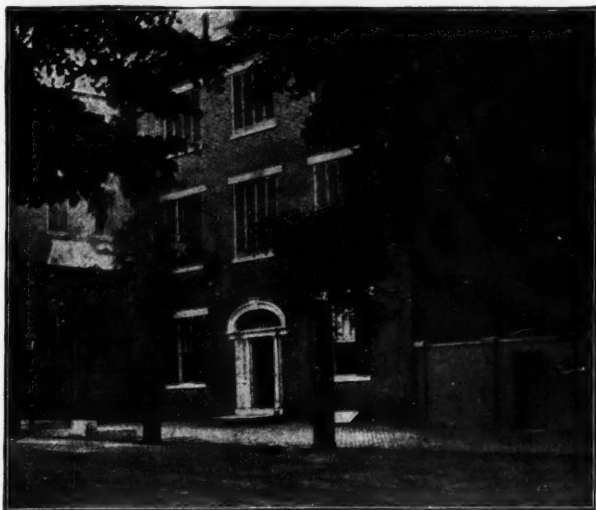
and the slave-pen and the auction-block were prominent on a public thoroughfare. Mr. Seward was not yet forty-eight years old, his eye was bright, his step elastic, his hair had a brownish tinge but as yet hardly a touch of gray, and his manners were urbane, gentle, and winning.* As he crossed the threshold of the senate chamber and walked up the main aisle to take the oath of office and his senatorial chair, he saw around him such men as Daniel Webster, the tall and courtly figure of Henry Clay, the dark-complexioned, genial Corwin, the portly form of General Lewis Cass, the towering ex-president of Texas, Samuel Houston, the classic head of Colonel Benton, the long, gray locks and sharp, attenuated features of John C. Calhoun, the erect, slender figure of Jefferson Davis, the swarthy, foreign-looking face of Pierre Soulé, the energetic, black-clothed "little giant" Stephen Douglas, and the familiar countenance of his own colleague the silver-haired Daniel S. Dickinson.

Mr. Seward had already passed through scenes of great excitement as governor of his own state, and had won the reputation of a ready and impressive speaker, which he sustained admirably in this new field. His speeches ranged from a practical and statistical analysis of the questions affecting steam navigation, deep-sea exploration, the American fisheries, the duty on rails, and the debt of Texas, to flights of passionate eloquence in favor of extending sympathy to the exiled Irish patriots, and moral support to struggles for liberty like the Hungarian revolution. But his masterly arguments against the admission of slavery into the new states and territories gave him enduring fame. Early in the session he announced the rule which would govern his action in presenting anti-slavery views, a rule from which he did not swerve during his twelve years' senatorial career. He remarked: "I assail the motives of no senator. I am not to be drawn into personal altercations by any interrogatories addressed to me. I acknowledge the patriotism, the wisdom, the purity of every member of this body. I never have assailed the motives of honorable senators in any instance. I never shall. When my own are assailed, I stand upon my own position. My life and acts must speak for me. I shall not be my own defender or advocate."

Early in January, 1850, Henry Clay rose from his chair in the senate chamber, and waving a roll of papers announced with dramatic eloquence to a hushed auditory that he held in his hand a series of resolutions pro-

* The portrait of William H. Seward as he appeared during his senatorial career forms the frontispiece to this number, through the courtesy of the publishers, Derby & Miller. This magazine in July, 1885, published another portrait of Mr. Seward, made while he was secretary of state. We are further indebted to the publishers for other illustrations of this article.

posing an amicable arrangement of all questions growing out of the subject of slavery. This plan of compromise was to admit California, establish territorial governments in New Mexico, and other regions acquired from Mexico, without any provisions for or against slavery; to pay the debt of Texas and fix her western boundary; to declare it "inexpedient" to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but "expedient" to restrict the slave-trade there, and to formally deny that congress had any power to obstruct the slave-trade between the states. Then began that long, historic debate which continued for eight weary



MR. SEWARD'S HOME IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE.

months. Mr. Seward presently found himself the object of suspicions, sneers, and attacks. His record on the slavery question was looked up, and it showed him to have declared for emancipation. He was quickly made to feel the wrath of his opponents whenever he was speaking or even when sitting silently in his chair. On one occasion a senator rose and in a loud voice read this passage from one of Mr. Seward's former speeches, "Slavery can and must be abolished, and you and I must do it," which produced a genuine sensation.

Mrs. Seward was in the gallery one morning and wrote to her sister that Mr. Seward said "a few words about Austria, which drew upon him

the tornado; not because," she continued, "they cared what he said, but because one who entertained anti-slavery principles should venture to speak at all. I wish you could have heard the speeches; that which is published gives you but a faint idea of the violence or vulgarity of that which was spoken. I amused myself by watching its effect upon the different members of the senate. Mr. Seward looked the personification of indifference, with his face turned directly toward the speaker. Henry Clay smiled occasionally at the sallies of wit, which were about like those we hear from the clown at the circus. Daniel Webster looked grave—I saw no muscle of his face relax. The Vice-President was fidgety, occasionally grasping the little mallet with the intention apparently of interrupting the speaker, then relaxing his grasp and leaning back with a hopeless air as though overcome by his pertinacity. Colonel Benton (who, by the way, is one of the finest-looking men in the senate) must have written over half a quire of paper, as he never raised his eyes or checked the motion of his fingers." Rev. Dr. Nott in one of his letters about this time said to Mr. Seward, "I am glad to see you do not lose temper; that you do not return railing for railing; but that no array of talent, no manifestation of rage, deters you from speaking and acting as a freeman ought. You stand in no need of my advice, and were I to suppose you did I should only say persevere; be calm, be courteous, just to the south, but true to your own principles."

Mr. Seward's bold utterances were a constant surprise to the senate and to the public. Letters came from all parts of the country asking for copies of his speeches, and when he was finally persuaded to print them in pamphlets, such was the pressure of the demand for them that the editions frequently ran up into hundreds of thousands. In one of his letters to Thurlow Weed he said, "Did it ever fall to the lot of any man in such a conjuncture of his own fame and interests to fall into the senate of the United States in such a national and legislative crisis as this? My entrance into the executive office in Albany bewildered me, but that experience was nothing compared with my trials here. In both cases, however, I have enjoyed your aid, and in both the malignity of adversaries has done for me more than I could do for myself."

His dissent from such honored leaders as Henry Clay and Daniel Webster brought upon Mr. Seward the censure of many of his own party. His vivid description of what a civil war in the United States would be, and his prediction that it would inevitably bring sudden and violent emancipation, attracted less attention than it would have done could it have been realized at the time that the scenes portrayed would ever

actually occur. He wrote to Thurlow Weed March 15, 1850, "I have just read your note, and of course I am satisfied that the occasion for the difference between Mr. Webster's views and my own was an unfortunate one. But it was there and had to be met. The first element of political character is sincerity. In any event, this question is to continue through this year and longer. We know which class of opinion must gain and which must lose strength. Remember that my dissent on the fugitive slave question alone would have produced the same denunciation if I had gone with Mr. Webster. This thing is to go on to an end near a revolution. While it is going on, could I with consistency or safety be less bold or firm? After it shall be over, could I endure that the slightest evidence of irresolution should have been given on my part?"

Mr. Seward's plea for California, which the objections raised to her admission to the Union by Calhoun and others inspired, was a brilliant piece of eloquence. He began by saying: "Four years ago California, a Mexican province, scarcely inhabited and quite unexplored, was unknown even to our desires, except by a harbor, capacious and tranquil, which only statesmen then foresaw would be useful in the commerce of a far distant future." Sketching her unparalleled growth into a state, asking admission to the family of states, Mr. Seward continued: "Yes. Let California come in. Every new state, whether she come from the east, or from the west; every new state, coming from whatever part of the continent she may, is always welcome. But California, that comes from a clime where the west dies away into the rising east; California, that bounds at once the empire and the continent; California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold, is doubly welcome."

At this time, as we all know, the anti-slavery men were a powerless minority, and the facts and philosophy of the situation in connection with subsequent events invest the slight, graceful figure of the senator from New York, which towered so high in the midst of the assembled statesmen, with a halo of light, and we begin to understand the secret of his peculiar power. He was never ultimately obtrusive with his clear-cut and positive opinions, or hesitant when discussion was appropriate, while his animated countenance at all times revealed his firm faith in his own foresight.

His private letters from Washington during the stormy twelve years of his senatorial service present the man and measures of the period as in a mirror, in clear outline. Judicious extracts from these have been made by his son, for which the country will owe him a debt of gratitude. In 1859 Mr. Seward visited Europe, and his long and closely written

correspondence described the incidents of each day's travel. He attended at the opening of parliament in the house of lords, and listened attentively to the queen's speech, saying: "She read it sitting, and read it beautifully. The scene was a very brilliant one. The figures were the queen in royal attire, with the great officers of state in their robes, the bishops in their robes and mitres, the judges in wigs and robes, the lords in scarlet robes, and the peeresses in magnificent costumes, all arranged with the art of a tableau." The next day Mr. Seward was at the queen's ball, and tells us: "The queen danced gayly and joyously many hours." He went to Scotland, journeyed on the continent, being entertained at the European courts and by representative public characters in all countries; passed some time in Italy, sailed over the blue Mediterranean to Egypt, and went through the vale of Sharon, up to Jerusalem and down the Jordan. After an absence of eight months he returned home in December, 1859, and found the whole country in a ferment. He resumed his seat in the senate early in January, 1860.

The exciting events of that year are familiar to the American public. Mr. Seward was styled the "great arch-agitator" by the southern journals, from one of the most prominent of which the following passage may be quoted: "Unlike others who are willing to follow in the wake of popular sentiment, Mr. Seward leads. He stands a head and shoulders above them all. He marshals his forces and directs the way. The abolition host follows. However we may differ from William H. Seward, we concede to him honesty of purpose, and the highest order of talent. He takes no half-way grounds. He does nothing by halves. Bold, fearless, talented, and possessed of all the requirements of a great political leader, turning neither to the right nor to the left, gifted with a self-possession possessed by few men, he listens to the assaults of his enemies with the most perfect *nonchalance*, and receives the warmest greetings of his friends with a wonderful composure. He has fought us at every step, disputed every inch of ground. He is at once the greatest and most dangerous man in the government."

Mr. Seward's great speech for the admission of Kansas into the Union was graphically described by Henry B. Stanton in the *New York Tribune*, who said: "The audience filled every available spot in the senate galleries, and overflowed into all the adjacent lobbies and passages, crowding them with throngs eager to follow Mr. Seward's argument, or even to catch an occasional sentence or word. It was on the floor itself that the most interesting spectacle was presented. Every senator seemed to be in his seat. Hunter, Davis, Toombs, Mason, Hammond, Slidell,

Clingman, Benjamin, and Brown paid closest attention to the speaker. Crittenden listened to every word. Douglas affected to be self-possessed, but his nervousness of mien gave token that the truths now uttered awakened memories of the Lecompton contest, when Lecompton, Seward, and Crittenden, the famous triumvirate, led their allies in their attacks on the administration. The members of the house streamed over to the north wing of the Capitol, almost in a body, leaving Mr. Regan of Texas to discourse to empty benches while Seward held his levee in the senate.

His speech was upon the problem awaiting solution by the whole



INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

body of our people. It was the utterance of a man of sharply defined opinions pronounced twenty years ago, then finding feeble echoes, but which have been reiterated until they have become the creed and rallying cry of a party on the eve of assuming the control of the national government. His exposition of the relation of the Constitution to slavery contained in a few lucid sentences all that is valuable upon that subject in Marshall, Story, and Kent. The historic sketch of parties and politics, and the influence of slavery upon both from the rise of the Missouri compromise onward to its fall, exhibited all of Hallam's fidelity to fact, lighted up with the warm coloring of Bancroft. The episodic outline of

the Kansas controversy and of the Dred Scott *pronunciamento* have never been compressed into words so few and weighty. Nothing could be more felicitous than his invitation to the south to come to New York and proclaim its doctrines from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, assuring its champions of safe conduct in their raid upon his constituents; while the suggestion that if the south would allow republicans the like access to its people, the party would soon cast as many votes below the Potomac as it now does north of that river, was one of the happiest retorts, whose visible effect upon senators must have been seen to be appreciated. Finally this speech closed by an exposition alike original, sincere, and hearty, of the manifold advantages of the Federal Union, the firm hold it has upon the people, and the certainty that it will survive the rudest shocks of faction."

Mr. Seward's prominent position in the republican party made him the most conspicuous candidate for the next presidential nomination. The memorable Chicago convention met on the 16th of May, 1860, and although Mr. Seward received one hundred and seventy-three votes in the first ballot against one hundred and two given to Mr. Lincoln, the latter was eventually nominated. Mr. Seward soon afterward canvassed the western states in behalf of Mr. Lincoln, telling the young men of the country that if it had devolved upon him to select from all the men in the United States a president to whom he would confide the standard of the cause of freedom against slavery, that man would have been Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Seward was everywhere received with enthusiasm. In Kansas honors innumerable were accorded him. At Atchison, for instance, the streets were filled with arches, one of which, formed of oak-boughs, bore the inscription, "Welcome to Seward, the defender of Kansas and of Freedom." As the canvass progressed the greatness of the crisis grew more manifest. The leading men of each political organization were speaking to excited audiences in every part of the land. Douglas himself was traveling from point to point, earnestly advocating his own principles. Breckinridge had the leading political orators of the south almost unitedly in his service. Then came the election and its results.

President Lincoln made Mr. Seward secretary of state, which department was then located in the old two-story brick building that stood on ground now occupied by the northern end of the treasury department. The two rooms in the north-eastern corner of the second floor were usually occupied by the secretary—one for study, the other for receiving visitors. The building was of plain drab color, with no ornamentation save a portico of six white columns on the northern side. On the morning after his ap-

pointment Mr. Seward quietly entered and took his chair, summoning Mr. Hunter, in whose charge the department had been left on the retirement of Judge Black. Mr. Hunter, originally appointed by John Quincy Adams, had been in the department ever since then as chief clerk or assistant secretary. His life had been devoted to its service; he was its memory and guiding hand, while successive presidents and secretaries came and passed away. Mr. Seward made inquiry as to how many of the clerks were loyal to the Union, and every disunion sympathizer was promptly dismissed. He made no inquiry into their politics, but their stay in the department was to depend upon their fidelity in the discharge of their official duties. No case of disloyalty subsequently occurred in this branch of the government, and the same incumbents have continued in place from that day to this, such vacancies only being filled that have occurred through death, resignation, or promotion. One day during his first week in office Mr. Seward asked his son to provide him with a blank-book, remarking that as the epoch would probably be one of historic importance, he would begin to keep a diary. A suitable book was obtained and laid upon his table. On the following morning he came out of his room with it in his hand, and giving it back, said: "There is the first page of my diary and the last. One day's record satisfies me that if I should every day set down my hasty impressions, based on half information, I should do injustice to everybody around me, and to none more than my most intimate friends." The book still remains with its one written page.

Describing the condition of public affairs at the beginning of the new administration, Mr. Seward said: "It found itself confronted by an insurrectionary combination of seven states practicing insidious strategy to secure eight others. Disaffection lurked, if it did not openly avow itself, in every department and every bureau, in every regiment and in every legation and consulate from London to Calcutta. Of four thousand four hundred and seventy officers in the public service, civil and military, two thousand one hundred and fifty-four were representatives of states where the revolutionary movement was openly advocated and urged, even if not actually organized. No provision had ever been made to anticipate this unprecedented disturbance. The magistracy was demoralized and the laws were powerless."

As important events crowded and overlapped one another, and the pressure of the public danger and its far-reaching consequences kept the president and the cabinet almost constantly in consultation, Mr. Seward wrote to his wife: "I think that care and responsibility will make me forget everybody and everything but the country and its perils. I leave

you in order to discuss national affairs with our minister to France. I have already instructed the ministers to Belgium, Prussia, England, and Austria. I have to fight everybody to get time to study." Presently dire perils began to thicken around the city of Washington in all directions. The enemy held meetings, mustered state troops, stopped trains, burned railway bridges; then came word that railroad communication through Baltimore to the north was entirely cut off and the telegraph ceased to work.

Several humorous incidents of this period of terror are related by Frederick W. Seward. At a meeting of President Lincoln's cabinet, sitting around the historic green table, one of the ministers asked General Scott who had been summoned to the conference: "How are we defended on the river below here? What force is there in Fort Washington at present?" "I think, sir," responded the general with his customary precision, "I think, sir, that Fort Washington could be taken with a bottle of whiskey. At last accounts it was in charge of a single old soldier who is entirely reliable when he is sober."

On one occasion an indefatigable applicant for a place was urging his claims upon the secretary so late in the evening that when the interview terminated and he attempted to leave the department, sentries posted for the night would not allow him to pass out without the countersign. Informed of the dilemma the secretary hastily wrote on a slip of paper, "Let the bearer pass," and signed it. In 1863 this pass was returned to the secretary by the commanding officer at Fredericksburg, who found the holder had traveled on it, up and down, within the lines of the army of the Potomac for two years!

Menaces of disaster seemed to start up on every side, not the least of which was the action of foreign governments. Many of the statesmen of Great Britain, for instance, seemed to think the disruption of the United States would be a benefit to England, the logical consequence of which was sympathy with those who were trying to disrupt it. Mr. Seward learned through the legation of St. Petersburg that an understanding had been effected between the governments of Great Britain and France, that they should take one and the same course on the subject of the American war. From a joint announcement of neutrality it would be only a step to joint mediation or intervention. On the morning of the 15th of June, 1861, a scene occurred at the state department, which though little known to the public had more influence on the fortunes of the Union than a pitched battle. Mr. Seward was sitting at his table reading dispatches when the messenger announced: "The British minister is here to see you, sir, and

the French minister, also." "Which came first?" asked the secretary. "Lord Lyons, sir; but they say they both want to see you together." Mr. Seward instinctively guessed the motive for so unusual a diplomatic proceeding. He paused a moment, then said: "Show them into the assistant secretary's room and I will come in presently."

A few minutes later, as the two ministers were seated side by side on the sofa, the door opened and Secretary Seward entered. Smiling and shaking his head, he said: "No—no—no. This will never do. I cannot see you in that way." The ministers rose to greet him. "True," said one of them, "it is unusual, but we are obeying our instructions." "And, at least," said the other, "you will allow us to state the object of our visit?" "No," said Secretary Seward, "we must start right about it, whatever it is. M. Mercier, will you do me the favor to come to dine with me this evening? There we can talk over your business at leisure. And if Lord Lyons will step into my room with me now, we will discuss what he has to say to me." "If you refuse to see us together," began the French minister, with a courteous smile and shrug—"Certainly, I do refuse to see you together, though I will see either of you separately, with pleasure, here or elsewhere." Thus the interviews were held severally, not jointly, and the papers which they had been instructed to jointly present and formally read to him were left for his informal inspection. A brief examination of them only was necessary to enable him to say courteously but with decision, that he declined to hear them read or to receive official notice of them. He wrote at once to Minister Dayton in Paris, saying: "France proposes to take cognizance of both parties as belligerents, and for some purposes to hold communication with each. . . . This government insists that the United States are one whole, undivided nation, especially so far as foreign nations are concerned; and that France is, by the law of nations and by treaties, not a neutral power between two imaginary parties here, but a friend of the United States." To Minister Adams in London he also wrote at considerable length, defining his position, adding: "This government is sensible of the importance of the step it takes in declining to receive the communication in question."

Of the daily life of Secretary Seward at this time we have many particulars in the admirable work of his son. His residence was in Lafayette square. He used to rise between six and seven, dress and shave with his own hand, and when the family assembled in the breakfast room, he would be found hastily running over the morning papers, throwing each aside as soon as dispatched. "You do not stop to read details of news, governor," said a friend. "I have only time to see whether there is anything that concerns

us in the government. The rest is for others to read," he replied. Breakfast was soon over, unless, as often happened, friends had come from New York by the night train, and availed themselves of the brief opportunity of seeing him before going to the department. Walking thither he was ensconced in his chair generally before the throng of morning visitors began to assemble. A huge pile of opened letters and dispatches that had come by the morning mail lay in a mahogany box at his right hand. A similar box empty at his left was ready to receive them as he marked upon each the disposition he desired to have made of it. Of course the bushels of communications to the secretary of state had already been sifted by the chief clerk of the department."

It would be interesting to quote further if space permitted, to note how cards of visitors who came to confer on public affairs interrupted the examination of correspondence, how the arrival of foreign ministers before noon to interview the secretary about some ship or subject or treaty or policy that was interfered with by the war, and which required careful judgment and prompt action, and the vast amount of other business that passed under his eye and through his hands each day without his ever seeming worried or anxious or flustered with it. He wrote to his daughter, "My occupations are various. I keep on writing dispatches to foreign nations for my regular occupation. But the war brings labors, cares, and duties of a domestic nature upon us all. I am counseling with the cabinet one hour, with the army officers the next, the navy next, and I visit all the troops as fast as they come."

The prominent events of that exciting period have been narrated so often that they need no repetition in these pages. Our readers are familiar with the exigency which led the government to send three unofficial envoys to the courts of Europe, to promote healthful opinions concerning the great cause for which our country was engaged in arms. These private ambassadors were Thurlow Weed, Bishop McIlvaine, and Archbishop Hughes. Agents from the confederacy were already in Europe when they arrived, and Mr. Weed wrote to Secretary Seward presently, December 2, 1861: "The storm in England and France intensifies. The public mind, as I wrote to you, was poisoned in advance. I saw a letter from a high source from London in which it is again said that you want to provoke a war with England for the purpose of getting Canada. This writer asks the correspondent to inquire whether your personal relations with Lord Lyons were unpleasant. . . . You are in a tight place and I pray that you may be imbued with the wisdom the emergency requires. This is true." Three days later Mr. Weed wrote: "If in earnest, as they

seem, they are really preparing for war here. War gives them cotton and a market in the south." Again on December 6, Mr. Weed wrote: "Everything here is upon a war footing. Such prompt and gigantic preparations were never known. There is general distrust of and hostility to yourself; how created or why I know not. It has been skillfully worked. I was told yesterday repeatedly that I ought to write the President demanding your dismissal."

Shortly after the decision in the *Trent* case was made a note from the French minister was received by Secretary Seward, enclosing a copy of his instructions from the French government, which plainly foreshadowed that France would make common cause with Great Britain in any war that should grow out of it. Mr. Seward replied briefly that the case had been decided, which rendered discussion unnecessary. All the European mails brought overwhelming evidences of unfriendly feeling. "If I had not nerves of steel," wrote Mr. Seward to Thurlow Weed on January 2, 1862, "I should give up my place and let some less offending man take it." Mr. L. E. Chittenden, who was in the treasury at the time and cognizant of many facts not generally known, says: "The two countries were saved from a war which could have had none but evil consequences, by the good sense of President Lincoln and of two statesmen, Lord Lyons and William H. Seward. Lord Lyons had the traditional love of the Anglo-Saxon for fair play. He thoroughly understood the controversy between north and south, and knew that upon its issue depended the supremacy in the republic of freedom or slavery. His sympathies were heartily with the north, but he was at the same time a faithful representative of his own nation, and watchful in the protection of her interests. We have no special information as to what passed in the private interviews of Secretary Seward and Lord Lyons, but may pretty safely assume that the reading of Earl Russell's *pronunciamento* did not disturb the equanimity of either. Probably after knocking the ashes from his cigar Lord Lyons observed: 'You will give up the men, of course. As prisoners they may be of consequence enough to cause a war; set free they are no good to anybody. You did not authorize their capture; their surrender involves no dishonor. Say yes, and you may deliver them up in your own time and in your own way.' Seward probably replied, 'Your lordship is perfectly right. Your views are such as we had a right to anticipate from your justice and your knowledge of the facts. We don't want these people. But we have mischief-makers among us who will try to arouse opposition to the surrender, especially if it is made the occasion of display in one of our larger ports or to one of your larger

vessels.' I had it from good authority at the time, that Lord Lyons declared his complete indifference as to the time and place of surrender, and said it was all the same to him whether it was in New York bay or in the harbor of a fishing village on Cape Cod. The representatives of the two countries had come to a perfect understanding and separated on the best of terms."

Volumes might be written on the events of the year 1862. Mr. Seward wrote to his wife in July: "The agitations and discussions of a vast republic are unintelligible to us all. The waves chase each other, rebound and break against each other. They seem to render it impossible for government to adhere to and persevere in any policy. Yet the nation is recovering its equanimity, naturally enough shaken by the sights and sounds of adverse results in a painful war." The day came presently when there seemed but one course to pursue. The President had listened patiently to delegations and statesmen and generals who urged a proclamation that would give the slaves their freedom, but he steadfastly refused to give any assurance that it would be issued. He, however, prepared a draft of one for consideration, and read it aloud at a cabinet meeting. Various suggestions were made. Mr. Seward approved the tone and purpose, but thought the time inopportune for issuing it. This cabinet meeting is portrayed in Carpenter's historical picture, "The Emancipation Proclamation," which hangs on one of the stair-cases of the Capitol at Washington. President Lincoln sits at the head of the long green table, holding the document in his hand. Mr. Seward occupies his usual place at the President's right hand, and is making his suggestion "to wait until after a victory." Mr. Wells and Mr. Bates are in their usual seats at the side and end of the table. Mr. Smith and Mr. Blair have arisen and are standing by the fire-place. Mr. Chase with folded arms stands near the President, and Mr. Stanton has drawn away his chair and sits facing Secretary Seward, to whom he is listening.

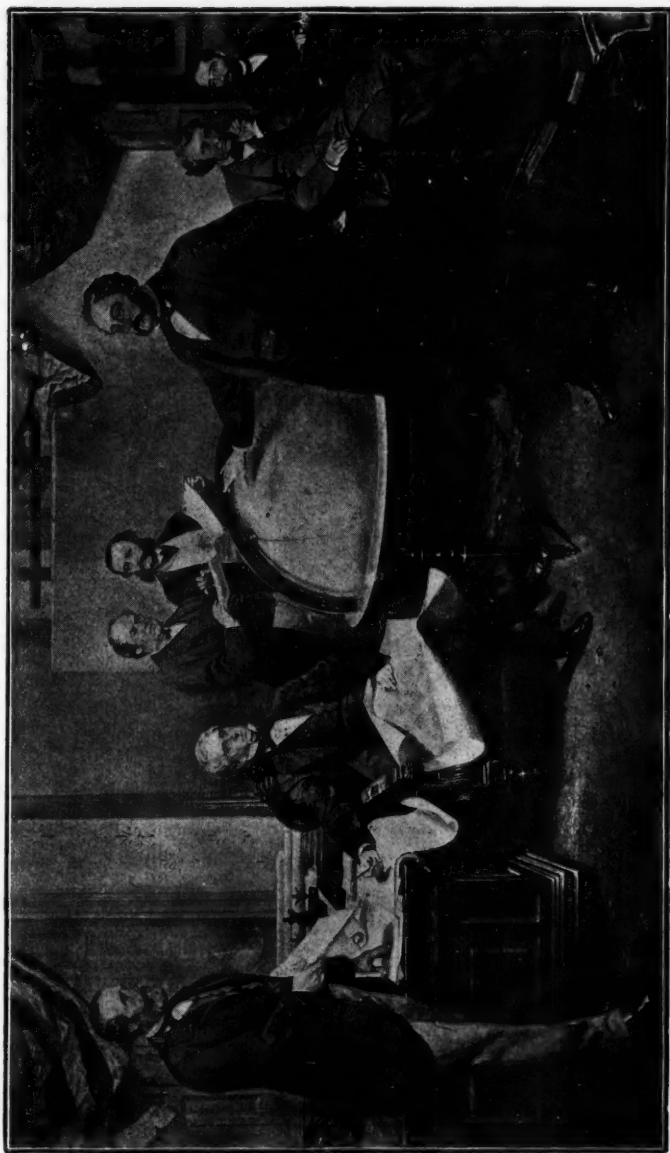
The suggestion of Mr. Seward was adopted and the measure awaited a favorable turn in the national fortunes. The emancipation of the slaves could be effected only by executive authority and on the ground of military necessity. Shortly after the battle of Antietam, in the latter part of September, President Lincoln called a special meeting of the cabinet and every minister was present. Mr. Lincoln remarked: "You all remember several weeks ago I read to you an order I had prepared, which on account of objections made by some of you was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought the time for acting upon it would come. I think the time has come now."



THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.
THE SCENE WHEN PRESIDENT LINCOLN FIRST READ THE DOCUMENT TO THE MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET.

He then read the draft aloud, commenting on each paragraph as he went on. Mr. Seward asked: "Would it not make the proclamation more clear and decided to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President, and not merely say that the government 'recognizes' but that it will *maintain* the freedom it proclaims?" Mr. Chase said: "The proclamation does not indeed mark out exactly the course I would myself prefer, but I am ready to take it just as it is written and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Secretary Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted." Each of the ministers was asked by the President for his opinion, and all approved the suggested changes. The draft was handed to Secretary Seward, who had it duly engrossed in official form, bearing the signature of the President and his own.

We must pass rapidly on to the year 1865, the second inauguration of Lincoln, and the swift series of military successes which brought the war to an end. On the 5th of April, Mr. Seward while out for his customary drive was thrown from his carriage and seriously injured. The ninth day after the accident he was still helpless and suffering and by no means out of danger. Night came, the physicians had taken their leave, the gas-lights were turned low and all was quiet. Mr. Seward's daughter Fanny was with him in the sick-room and an invalid soldier nurse, George T. Robinson. The other members of the family had gone to their respective rooms. Just then a tall, well-dressed man presented himself at the door below, and telling the servant he came with a message from the doctor was allowed to ascend the stairs to Mr. Seward's room. He was met by Frederick W. Seward, who refused him admission, explaining that the sleeping invalid must not be disturbed. The man paused a moment, and when advised to leave his message and report to the doctor, said: "Very well, sir, I will go;" and turning away took two or three steps down the stairs. Suddenly turning again, he sprang up and forward, having drawn a navy revolver, which he leveled with a muttered oath and pulled the trigger. And now in swift succession, like the scenes of some hideous dream, came the bloody incidents of the night—of the pistol missing fire; of the struggle in the dimly lighted hall between the armed man and the unarmed one; of the blows which broke the pistol of the one and fractured the skull of the other; of the bursting in of the door; of the mad rush of the assassin to the bedside and his savage slashing with a bowie-knife at the face and the throat of the helpless secretary, instantly reddening the white bandages with streams of blood; of the screams of the daughter for help; of the attempt of the invalid soldier nurse to drag the assailant from his victim,



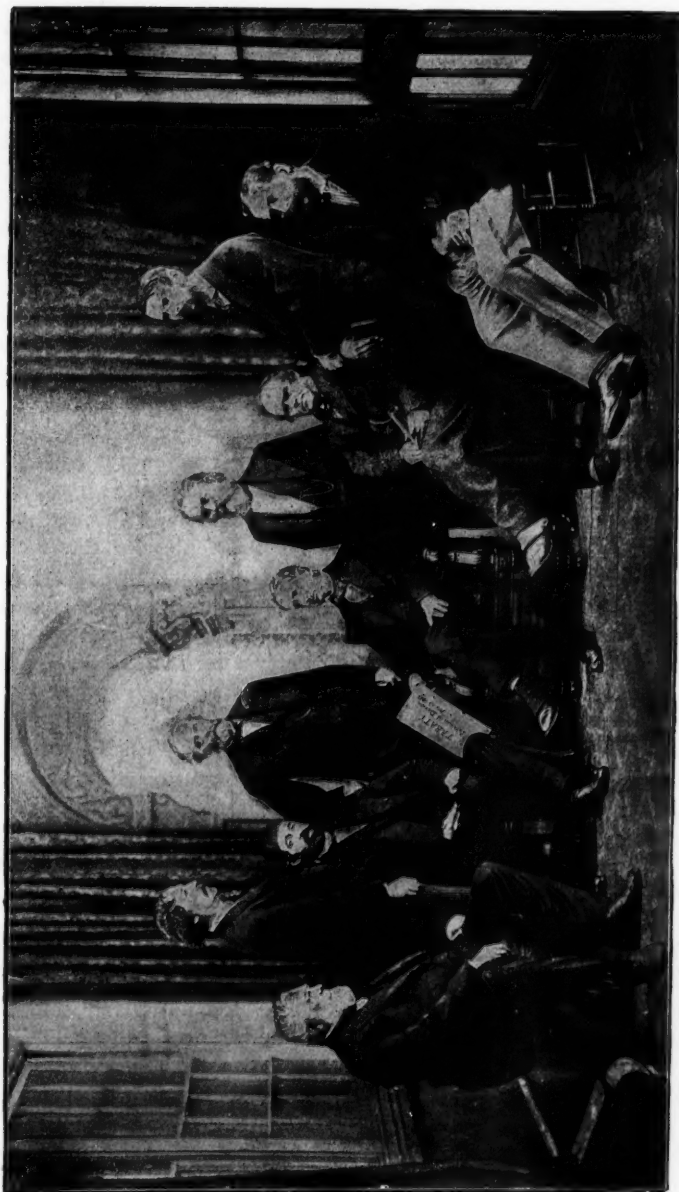
THE ALASKA TREATY.
EXECUTING THE DOCUMENT AT MIDNIGHT.

receiving sharp wounds himself in return; of the noise made by the awakening household, inspiring the assassin with hasty impulse to escape, leaving his work done or undone; of his frantic rush down the stairs, cutting and slashing at all whom he found in his way, wounding one in the face and stabbing another in the back; of his escape through the open doorway and his flight on horseback down the avenue. Five minutes later the aroused household were gazing horrified at the bleeding faces and figures in their midst—were lifting the insensible form of Mr. Seward from a pool of blood and sending for surgical help. Meanwhile a panic-stricken crowd was surging from the street to the hall and rooms below, vainly inquiring or wildly conjecturing what had happened. For these the horrors of the night seemed to culminate when later comers rushed in with the intelligence that the President had also been attacked at the same hour—had been shot at Ford's Theatre—had been carried to a house in Tenth Street and was lying there unconscious and dying!

We all know the sequel. The whole civilized world was shocked by the news of these bloody crimes. For several days Mr. Seward lay in a critical state. His son who heroically disputed the murderer's entrance to his chamber lay forty-eight hours motionless and unconscious. Mr. Seward's recovery was slow, and long before he could reach the state department except as he was carried, he resumed his work, swathed in bandages. One of the first occasions on which his own signature was again appended to an official document was the promulgation of President Johnson's amnesty proclamation.

The first treaty negotiation after the war was the joint convention with Morocco for the establishment of a light-house at Cape Spartel. It was signed at Tangier by representatives of the United States, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden; the sultan of Morocco agreeing to protect and defend the light, the other powers to divide the expense of its maintenance.

A more interesting incident, however, was when in December, 1865, news came that Alabama had ratified the proposed constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, which being the twenty-seventh state filled up the needed complement of three-fourths. One morning shortly after, a great parchment sheet was spread out on Mr. Seward's table, awaiting the signature of the secretary of state to make valid the amendment to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States, and it must have been with special gratification that he affixed his name to this crowning and closing act of the long struggle.



THE DARIEN CANAL TREATY.

Mr. Seward made a voyage to the West Indies in the early part of 1866, and on his return to Washington found numerous important matters to engage his attention, chief among which was the negotiation for the annexation of Russian America. On Friday evening, March 29, 1867, as Mr. Seward was playing whist in his parlor with some of his family, the Russian minister was announced. "I have a dispatch from my government by cable," said the visitor. "The emperor gives his consent to the cession. To-morrow if you like I will come to the department, and we can enter upon the treaty."

"Why wait until to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night," said Mr. Seward smiling. "But your department is closed, you have no clerks, and my secretaries are scattered about the town," replied the minister. "Never mind that," replied Mr. Seward. "If you can muster your legation together before midnight, you will find me awaiting you at the department, which will be open and ready for business."

Light was presently streaming from the department of state, and by four o'clock in the morning the Alaska treaty was engrossed, signed, sealed, and ready for transmission by the President to the senate. The picture, from the painting by Leutze, presents the scene with fidelity. Mr. Seward by his writing-table, pen in hand, is listening to the Russian minister, whose extended hand is just over the great globe at the secretary's elbow. Mr. Chan, the chief clerk, is approaching with the engrossed copy of the treaty for signature; in the background Mr. Hunter and Mr. Bodisco are comparing the English and French versions, while Mr. Sumner and the assistant secretary are sitting in conference.

The following June the negotiations with Nicaragua resulted in a "treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation." With Belgium three treaties were negotiated, one of which was the naturalization treaty, all of which were signed at Brussels by the American minister, Mr. Sanford. Mr. Seward negotiated treaties for the purchase of the Danish West India Islands and the Bay of Samana, and he made a treaty with Colombia to secure American control of the Isthmus of Darien, which, however, failed of approval by the senate.

Within the eight years of Mr. Seward's secretaryship he negotiated upwards of forty treaties, nearly all of historic importance, of which three were with Great Britain, three with Mexico, three with Italy, and three with Peru. On his retirement from public life Mr. Seward visited Alaska, a trip attended with many noteworthy incidents. He also visited California, Mexico, Cuba, and made a journey round the world.

Martha J. Lamb

AN EARLY WEST POINTER

Captain Adam A. Larrabee (father of the Honorable William Larrabee of Clermont, Iowa, eighteen years a state senator, and more recently governor of the state) graduated from the United States military academy at West Point, March 1, 1811. In accepting his appointment he wrote to the secretary of war, General Henry Dearborn, as follows:

"WINDHAM, CONN., *February 8, 1808.*

SIR: I have been honored with an appointment of cadet of artillery attached to the military school at West Point, and in compliance with your request I transmit you my answer as accepting said appointment, at the same time pledging my sacred honor and my life in defense of my country and its liberties. I avail myself of this opportunity of tendering my sincere acknowledgments to his excellency the President of the United States for the important favor which he has been pleased to confer upon me, at the same time assuring him that when my country calls no exertions shall be too arduous to deter me from fulfilling my duty.

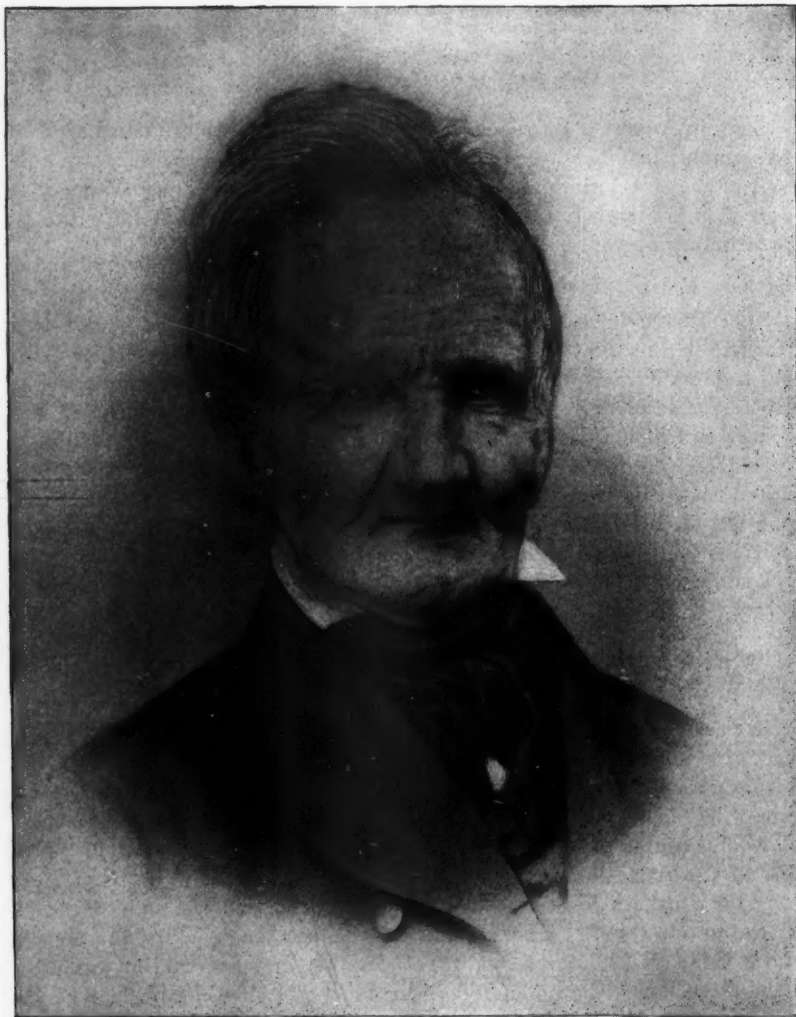
I am, sir, with the most profound respect, your obedient and humble servant,

ADAM A. LARRABEE

HON. HENRY DEARBORN,
Secretary of War."

In pursuance of this appointment the young man, then twenty-one years of age, reported at the academy in due season and remained until his graduation. Upon the completion of his studies he was appointed second lieutenant of light artillery. His promotion to a first lieutenancy followed a couple of months later. His service at that time was in garri- sons on the Atlantic coast, though he also participated in the campaign along the northern frontier in 1812. His next service was under General Wilkinson on the St. Lawrence, where he was engaged in the attack on La Colle Mills, March 30, 1814. In this engagement he was shot through the lungs, the bullet lodging against the shoulder-blade, whence it was removed by the surgeon, really passing through his body.* He was reported killed, but fortunately recovered from the terrible wound. It was almost a miracle for the surgeons of those days to save the life of

* Rossiter Johnson's *War of 1812*, p. 252.



CAPTAIN ADAM A. LARRABEE.

GRADUATE OF UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, MARCH 1, 1811.

a soldier so badly wounded, though it speaks volumes as to the powerful vitality and fine physical condition of the patient.

In this fight General Wilkinson had attacked some two hundred of the British forces who were strongly posted in the stone mill at La Colle. Two pieces of artillery were brought up and planted within two hundred yards of the mill. General Wilkinson surrounded it, expecting to dislodge and capture the enemy, in which he failed on account of the strength of the walls. Captain McPherson fell, shot through the thigh, and was carried off the field. Lieutenant Larrabee took his place, but was very soon wounded, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant Sheldon. After being thus wounded Lieutenant Larrabee was hauled about twenty miles in an open sleigh to the house of the illustrious Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth, where he was tenderly cared for by the family. It was no doubt due to this excellent nursing that his life was saved. He was soon after promoted to a captaincy, but resigned his commission in 1815.

Captain Larrabee was married to Hannah Gallup Lester in 1817, who bore him nine children, all of whom survived him except John, who died in 1852. In 1822 the subject of this brief sketch was chosen a member of the Connecticut house of representatives. President Jackson appointed him a member of the board of visitors to the military academy in 1828. He also served as presidential elector in the great Tippecanoe campaign of 1840.

The business of his civil life was farming rather than politics, and in this he won very conspicuous success. He was for over fifty years continuously one of the trustees of the old savings bank of Norwich, Connecticut, the deposits in which at the time of his death had increased to almost \$9,000,000. He was also connected with several other leading banks. Tradition assures us that he was a most excellent financial manager, an enviable trait which was transmitted to more than one of his sons. He was not only a hard worker, but very frugal and saving in his own habits, as any one would judge upon seeing his portrait in the Iowa State Library Collections; but to proper objects of charity, and the cause of religion, he was always a most liberal giver. He was punctual in the discharge of every trust that was committed to him, always present at the meetings of the bank trustees, and taking a thorough interest in all its transactions. The scars which he carried to his grave, as well as the promotions he received, afford abundant evidence that his youthful pledge to the President of the United States, who had appointed him to his cadetship, were faithfully and patriotically carried out.

When peace was declared he had no liking for the monotony of regu-

lar army life, but promptly resigned to take his chances in a business career. His systematic training at West Point was visible in all his after years, and his ideas of hard work, economy, business integrity, order, and punctuality were a most precious legacy to his sons, who have been abundantly prospered through the same praiseworthy qualities. He was born in Ledyard, Connecticut, March 14, 1787, and died in Windham, Connecticut, October 25, 1869.

In the same compartment of the Iowa State Library Collections which contains his autograph letter there is one addressed to him, as follows:

"Norwich, Connecticut, 22d July, 1813.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 12th instant. The militia are again ordered to New London, and I hope will make a good fight if the enemy should attack.

I am

Sir

With esteem

Your most ob't servant

JACOB KINGSBURY,

Inspector General.

To Lt. ADAM LARRABEE, Groton, Connecticut."

Lehman Smith

IOWA STATE LIBRARY, DES MOINES, IOWA.

A LOST CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE FIRST EUROPEAN ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE THE NEW WORLD

During the latter part of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries the spirit of adventure, particularly in the way of discovery beyond seas, became an absorbing passion in all the nations of western Europe. Nowhere, however, was this more prevalent or fruitful than among the Portuguese, then the most intelligent and enterprising people in christendom. They had explored the whole western coast of Africa, colonized the islands near it, rounded the cape of Good Hope, and by opening the way to India by that route had revolutionized the trade of the east. Still pushing onward they discovered the Moluccas and even established themselves in China.

While thus active in their southerly explorations it could hardly be expected that a people so energetic would altogether neglect the opposite quarter of the world. In the northwest was a "sea of darkness," exciting the inquiry of the curious and the awe of the superstitious as to the wonders hidden behind it. Among the islands of which it was believed America was composed, a passage might be found to India and the spice countries, also unknown islands and even continents of gold, pearls, and heathen men, from the merchandise of which might be reaped rich returns. There were rumors from more than one source of such lands and peoples having been actually seen. Traditions were handed along among the maritime races to the north of the settlements of the Norsemen in Greenland and their voyages to Vinland and other distant regions. Scholars are now coming to believe that Basque and Breton fishermen in the fifteenth century, even before the voyages of Columbus, visited the banks and coasts of Newfoundland. Such information, though probably in vague and uncertain shape, could scarcely have failed to reach the Portuguese.*

Ignorant of the size of the earth, they regarded the lands discovered to the west as part of Asia, and the distance to be sailed to reach the regions of fabled wealth much less than it is in reality. And with an intense desire to reach them was mingled the fear that Spain might in this direction find a shorter way to invade Portuguese dominions in the east. These considerations gained force in the reign of Emmanuel "the fortunate,"

* Several Portuguese writers maintain that some of their own voyagers had reached America prior to Columbus. But critical historians do not consider the evidence sufficient to establish this.

who ascended the throne in 1495, and was ready to follow any indication of openings for discovery in the northwest. When, therefore, Cabot had fully established the existence of land in that quarter this monarch became inspired with the idea of reaching it. Accordingly, on the 25th October, 1499, he granted a commission to John Fernandez to seek and discover lands and islands in that direction, and appointed him governor of all that he might discover. Nothing seems to have come of this, for less than seven months after, on the 12th May, 1500, we find Gaspar Cortereal given the command of an expedition to the northwest with the same powers and privileges. He was of a noble family in the Azores, his father being hereditary governor of the island of Terceira, and the family distinguished by a spirit of maritime enterprise. It is significant that Gaspar is stated to have been already engaged in explorations on his own account and at his own expense and at the risk of his life, and he engaged to pay part of the expense of this expedition. In consideration of all the circumstances the king granted to him and his heirs in perpetuity the government absolute over all the lands and islands he might discover or *rediscover*, with the right of high and low justice without appeal, and one-quarter clear of all the revenue direct and indirect.*

Three days later, with one or two vessels, he sailed for the unknown coasts. It appears that he first touched at the family island of Terceira, which was under the government of his elder brother Vasqueanes, and thence proceeded to the northwest. In due time he saw land, which from his course, crossing as it would the broad eastern portion of the Gulf Stream, and from the prevalent westerly winds which he must have encountered, there can scarcely be a doubt was on the east coast of Newfoundland at what has ever since been known as Conception bay, probably so called from the day of its discovery. According to report he thence voyaged northward to high latitudes, where he struck land which he supposed to be Greenland and accordingly called it Terra Verde. Finally he is represented as having reached a river at sixty degrees north latitude, which he called *Rio Nevada*, or snow river, where his progress was stopped by ice. This is supposed to have been in the latitude of Hudson strait. On his return he touched at a harbor to refit his ship and refresh his crew, and duly arrived at Lisbon in the autumn of the same year.†

* Copies of this commission, with a number of other documents connected with the family, will be found in *Do Canto Os Cortereals*, published at Santa Delgada St. Michael in 1883, and in the appendix to Harris's *Les Cortereals*.

† For most of our information regarding this voyage we are indebted to Ramusio's collection of voyages.

This voyage was sufficiently successful to induce a renewal of the enterprise in the following year. Accordingly, on the 15th May, 1501, the navigator again sailed from Lisbon with three vessels, directing his course west northwest. After proceeding two thousand miles the voyagers reached a land along which they cruised in a northwesterly direction six or seven hundred miles without reaching the end of it. Hence they concluded that it must be connected with Terra Verde, which they had visited the year before. They then returned homeward, but stopped on their way to capture a number of natives. Two of the vessels continued their course homeward and reached Lisbon in a month, having sailed twenty-eight hundred miles. They reported having met with rivers so large as to indicate that the land they discovered was no island. They described the country as covered with abundant forests, especially of pine suitable for ship-building, and its waters well stored with fish of various kinds.* They brought home between fifty and sixty natives, described by a writer who saw them as "of like color, stature, and aspect, and bearing the greatest resemblance to the gypsies;" adding, "His Serene Majesty contemplates deriving great advantage from the country not only on account of the timber, but of the inhabitants, who are admirably calculated for labor, and are the best slaves I have ever seen."

The third vessel, in which was Gaspar who remained to sail along the coasts of the new country long enough to determine whether it was an island or terra firma, never returned. When months had passed without any tidings of the commander or his vessel, his younger brother Miguel, who had already manifested a deep interest in the enterprise and had contributed liberally to its expense, obtained permission from the king to go in search of the missing explorers, and at the same time secured a concession of the privileges granted to Gaspar. He sailed from Lisbon on the 10th May, 1502, with three vessels. Arriving on the American coast, the better to conduct the search, it was deemed advisable to separate, and appointing a rendezvous for the 20th of August the vessels took different courses. Two of these met at the appointed time and place, but the third, in which was their commander, did not appear, and the others after waiting for some time returned home.

The following year the king sent out another expedition of two vessels, to ascertain if possible the fate of the two missing navigators, which, however, returned without tidings or trace of them, their vessels, or their

* For most of our information of the second voyage we are indebted to a letter from Pietro Pasqualego, the Venetian ambassador, and one from Alberto Cantino, agent of the Duke of Ferrara, both of which will be found in Harrisse and Do Canto.

crews. Then the eldest of the three brothers, Vasqueanes, asked permission of the king to renew the search, but that monarch refused to risk the lives of any more of his subjects. Thus the fate of the two brothers has remained and must ever remain a mystery.

With the voyage in search of the lost Cortereals, exploration in north-eastern America on the part of Portugal ceased as far as the government was concerned, with the exception probably of the voyage of Fagundez hereafter to be noticed. But the enterprise of these energetic but unfortunate men was attended with important results. In the first place, it gave the nations of Europe a better idea of the geography of these regions. This appears in the early Portuguese maps, which enable us to determine with some degree of accuracy the course and extent of the explorations made by the Cortereals or their successors. At the same time it has been observed they mark a decided change in the cartography of the age as to this part of America. The first was sent by Cantino, the agent of the Duke of Modena at Lisbon, to his principal, accompanied by a note dated 19th November, 1502, showing that it must have been prepared immediately after the return of the vessels of Gaspar's second voyage. It gives a representation of the coast of the United States from Florida northward. To the east in mid-ocean, so far as to be beyond the line of demarkation between the Spanish and Portuguese territories, is represented the east coast of an island, indented by bays and studded with islands. This is marked "Terra del Rey du Portuguall." On it is the legend in Portuguese, "This land was discovered by the order of the high and most excellent prince the King Manuel, King of Portugal, which Gaspar de Cortereal, gentleman of the palace of the said king, discovered, who, when he had discovered, took in his vessel certain men and women found in the country, and he remained in the country with the other ship and never returned, and it is believed that he has perished, and that there is plenty of trees to make masts."

This island is unquestionably Newfoundland, and the map clearly indicates that it was the principal scene of the unfortunate Gaspar's explorations. Here, as HARRISSE remarks, "instead of the indefinite lines of previous maps, we have a most exact delineation, with the capes, estuaries, and sinuosities approaching too near the truth not to have been seen and explored by seamen by profession."

Subsequent maps give a fuller view of the Cortereal discoveries. One of the earliest of these in a collection of old sea-charts found in the archives of the Bavarian army at Munich, is supposed to have been constructed about the year 1504. It contains Iceland and Greenland laid

down with almost modern accuracy, both as to latitude and contour. To the west of the latter lies a large country called "terra de cortte Ral." Its position, as well as the configuration of the coast, shows that it represents the east coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. The former must have been explored somewhat minutely. Kohl says, "We must come to the conclusion that Cortereal entered and explored nearly every bay and gulf on the east coast of Newfoundland." Beyond this, however, he seems to have followed the coast of Labrador to Hudson strait.

But did he enter the gulf of St. Lawrence? While the author of the map does not appear to be aware of the existence of the straits of Belle Isle, there is reason to believe he did. Harris says there are only two suppositions, that he did; and the rivers which he saw, so large as to convince him he was on the shores of a continent, were either those which emptied into the river St. Lawrence or which empty into that part of Hudson's bay known as Migava bay, and he favors the former conclusion. Asher says in like manner, "Cortereal's explorations, as far as they can be ascertained from a few vague fragments of intelligence, embrace the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the gulf into which the river falls, with some of the islands within, and part of the east shore of Newfoundland."

These maps, as well as some others of about the same date, contain a number of names attached to prominent places on the last-mentioned coast, all Portuguese, most of which held their place on maps for a long time, and a number continue to the present day. Thus we have Cape Razo, in Portuguese meaning flat or level cape, now corrupted by the English into Cape Race; Cabo or Baya de Concepcion, still retained in Conception bay; C da espera, now corrupted into Cape Spear; R d San Francisquo, a name still retained in Cape St. Francis; B de S Cyria, a name which long appeared on maps, now Trinity bay; Ilha de freylius, supposed to have been so called in honor of a friar who accompanied the expedition, a large island near the present Cape Freels, a name which is plainly a corruption of the original; I dos bacalhous, still existing in the island of Bacalhao or Baccalieu; Cape and I de boa ventura, now Frenchified into Bonaventure; I dos gamas, translated into Deer island; I dos aves, long on maps, afterward in French as Isle des oiseaux, and in English Bird island, supposed to be what is now called French island; while far in the north San Johan probably represents the present Cape St. John.

Limited space will not permit reference to later maps and charts of the sixteenth century in which we find frequent mention of Portuguese exploration in the name Terra de Cortereal or Terra Corterealis, though there is

no uniformity in its application. A map of 1520 contains a line intended to mark the line of demarkation between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions near the Cape Breton at about sixty degrees west longitude. By it Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland belonged to the Portuguese, and in several maps the Portuguese flag is represented as flying over them, and even farther west we find also many Portuguese names the same as we have noticed, but unknown or forgotten, while a few represent other names of the present day. Thus we have Boa Vista or Bona Vista, the name of one of the Cape Verde islands; Fogo, in Portuguese meaning fire, also the name of one of the same group; and Cape Blanco, which appears in our maps as White bay; and on the south coast San Pedro, the modern St. Pierre. These maps contain a number of other names now unknown, which we have reason to believe were not imposed by the fancy of map-makers, but were once in actual use and serve as memorials of the presence of this people.

Besides the names we have taken from these maps there are others now in use of which some are undoubtedly and others probably of Portuguese origin. At the head of Conception bay we have Portugal cove, and another of the same name on Trepassey bay. Just opposite the former is Carbonear, originally Carboniero, the name of a leading cape on the coast of Portugal. On the Great Bank we have Portuguese shoal; and in the Canaries, applied to a group of islets off the coast, have we not a name suggesting reminiscences of some western islanders? Catalina is either the Portuguese or Spanish form of Catherine. But *Brigus* I am informed is Portuguese, probably from *briga*, a "quarrel" or "fight," and *brigoso*, "quarrelsome" or "warlike;" while *Fermuse*, north of Cape Race, the beautiful, is from the same source; and *Flowers Island* seems a translation of "Flores in the Azores."

I refer to this point particularly because I deem it of prime importance in our present inquiry, and because I believe its full significance has not been recognized. The fact that so many names should have been affixed to places so firmly as to adhere to them through all the changes of well nigh four hundred years clearly implies occupancy and that for some time. The mere visit of an explorer could not of itself have effected such a result. Cartier assigned names to almost every place that he visited in the gulf of St. Lawrence, but though his narrative was published soon after his return home, in which he commonly gives a description of each, with the courses and distances between them, yet in very few instances have the names assigned by him adhered, and indeed as to many of them it is still disputed as to the places to which they refer. The fact then of

names continuing shows that they were not derived from the fancy of an explorer, but came into common use among the fishermen or others who frequented the localities. And it is noticeable that most if not all of the oldest names on the east coast of Newfoundland are Portuguese, showing a predominant influence of that people at the time of the first contact of these shores with European civilization.

The maps we have been considering show that the Cortereals or their successors visited Labrador. The authors seem to have regarded it as a continuation of Newfoundland. But there can be little doubt that the fishermen explored both shores through their whole extent.

The Cortereal voyages were attended with more practical results than the increase of geographical knowledge. Both kings and peoples who engaged in such expeditions had an eye to business. In this instance the immediate object was to find a new and shorter route by which to reach the treasures of the east. There was disappointment, but it ended in results important to the national wealth. These voyages, if not the commencement of the Portuguese fisheries in this part of the world, gave a great impulse to that industry. Immediately after Gaspar's first voyage, in 1500 or 1501, a fishing company was formed in the harbors of Vianna, Aveiro, and Terceira—all places traditionally devoted to fishing—for the purpose of founding establishments in Terra Nova, as the new-found regions were called, and colonizing it. And so rapid was the progress of the industry that in the year 1506 the king gave orders that "the fishermen at their return from Newfoundland should pay a tenth part of their profits at his custom-houses." In subsequent years the industry was prosecuted energetically both by individuals and companies. At different times the port of Aveiro alone had sixty vessels sailing to that fishery. In 1550 it owned one hundred and fifty fishing-vessels, while an equal number sailed from Oporto and other ports, so that the business became the source of a large increase of revenue to the king.*

But did the investigations of Portuguese explorers and the enterprise of her fishermen and traders extend no farther than the shores of Newfoundland or Labrador? In the nature of things this could scarcely be the case. Their little craft, caught in easterly gales, must sometimes have been driven to Nova Scotia or even New England. If not the love of exploration, the desire of finding fishing-grounds unknown to their rivals or places for trading with the natives without competitors must have urged them onward. The maps of the sixteenth century show that they were acquainted with them. Some of them reveal an acquaintance with Nova

* Cordeiro, in *Compte-Rendus d Congrès des Americanistes*, 1875, pp. 295-297.

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Scotia and adjacencies such as is not exhibited on the maps of any other nation in that century.

There is reason to believe this part of the American coast was formally explored under the authority of the Portuguese government. A map of Lazaro Luiz, in an atlas published in 1563, presents a country seemingly representing in part the coasts of Nova Scotia, which is marked in Portuguese as "discovered by Jaom Alvarez." This has always been understood as referring to explorations supposed to have been made by Joam Alvarez Fagundez in or about the year 1521, under the authority of King Manuel. Most writers have hitherto regarded the evidence of such a voyage as unsatisfactory. But recent investigations among the Portuguese archives in my view leave no doubt of its truth. A copy of a royal commission to him has been found, dated 13th March, 1521, which refers to similar privileges previously granted to him, and includes the lands and islands which "*he went to discover, and has now certified us by trustworthy evidence that he did discover*, the lands and islands following, to wit: the land which is called terra firma from the line of demarkation which bounds the possessions of the crown of Castile from ours on the south until it comes to the boundaries of the land which the Cortereals discovered on the north, at the three islands in the bay of Aguada, on the northeast and southwest coast, and the islands to which he gave the names of these saints, to wit: St. John, St. Peter, St. Ann, and St. Anthony; and the isles of the archipelago of St. Pantelion with the island of Pitigaoem, and the isles of the archipelago of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and the island of Santa Cruz, which is at the end of the bank; and another island which is also called St. Ann's, which was seen but not landed on."

Fagundez must then be reckoned among the early explorers of northeastern America, and the terms of his grant, as well as Luiz's map, indicate that his explorations were somewhat extensive. They leave no doubt that the sphere of them was specially Cape Breton and Nova Scotia with lands adjacent to the east and west. As to the extent of his grant it must have included that province, and extended so far to the west as to take in part of what is now the United States, and eastwardly so far as to include part of the south coast of Newfoundland. We must therefore rank him with the Des Monts and the Alexanders, who obtained from the crown grants of land, we may say of imperial extent, on the northern part of the American continent, and earlier than them all. Further, it is curious to note that this included much the same territory afterward granted to the former by the king of France and to the latter by the king of Scotland, and we think with as good if not a better right.

This grant was not intended to be a dead letter. In conjunction with some noblemen of Vianna plans were laid for founding a colony in Cape Breton. What we know of the result of the effort will be told presently, but let us follow the traces of the Portuguese explorations along the coasts of Nova Scotia as presented in the maps of the sixteenth century. These generally exhibit the southern coast of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and even part of the continent opposite, as presenting one continuous line of coast. The oldest map hitherto discovered representing Nova Scotia at all as a peninsula is by a Portuguese named Diego Homem, but residing in Venice, who published in 1558 the best delineation of that province made till that of Sescarbott in the following century, to which it is scarcely inferior.

It is represented as a peninsula, with the southern coast extending from "cap de Bertoen" or cape of the Bretons in a west-southwest direction, which is the true course to Bai Sablon, at the present Cape Sable. Thence it is represented as turning northward, as the coast of Nova Scotia actually does, a wide bay separating it from the continent. There is a nameless arm of the sea penetrating a considerable distance into the land, which we have no difficulty in recognizing as St. Mary's bay. Beyond this the bay extends northward, reaching a group of islands, after which it divides into two. This plainly represents the bay of Fundy with its two branches of Chignecto bay and Minas basin. The author had delineated the southern coast of the province with an accuracy like actual surveys. But here his information seems to have been vague and general, and he has been obliged to leave the two arms undefined.

This is the oldest map known in which we have a representation of the bay of Fundy. Those of older date which show the southern coast of Nova Scotia represent it as continuous with the state of Maine, or only separated from it by a river with a broad estuary, sometimes called Rio Fondo. Even later maps, such as that of Gastaldi in 1566, and of the renowned Mercator in 1569, eleven years after Homem's, have the same representation. The whole shows that previous to 1558 Portuguese mariners had not only explored the southern and western coasts of Nova Scotia so as to be able to plot them with an approach to accuracy, but had penetrated well into the bay of Fundy. In this map the southern arm is represented as having a river with a broad and lengthened estuary entering it from the south, which every person acquainted with the geography of the place will recognize as intended for the present Avon river. They must have witnessed with wonder the mighty sweep of the bay of Fundy tides—wide expanses of meadow covered at each returning tide, now forming the riches of a thriving people dwelling on its shores.

The name bay of Fundy is Portuguese. They called it Baya Funda, or deep bay, referring not to the depth of its waters but to the depth to which it penetrates the continent. Minas is either Spanish or Portuguese, meaning, besides mines, springs, sources, origins, and is applied to places at or near the heads of rivers, and was probably given to that part of the basin which they regarded as its head or extremity.

In this map there are some but not many names on the southern coast of the province, now unknown. There is every reason to believe they were really in use among the fishermen. A few, which Kohl describes as half French, half Portuguese, may be traced up to the present day. Besides Bai Sablon, already mentioned, we have not far from it golfo de Petis, and on quite recent maps we have the name Pettys island, or Petits island, at the entrance of Shelburne harbor. Then, again, there is La Beau bai, which Kohl supposes to be represented by the French name, still retained, of Port Joli. Farther we have Des Jardins, and farther east R. des Jardins, which plainly appears in a corrupted form in the present Jordan river. These are all near the southern extremity of the province, and in the same neighborhood we may notice among existing names Baccaro point, evidently a form of Baccalao, the name in Spain and Portugal for dried cod-fish; and Brazil rock, a name originally connected with the western islands, and which we cannot suppose to have been given by any other than the Portuguese. In this neighborhood are situated some of the finest fishing-grounds on the coast of America. The number of Portuguese names found on the map so early as 1558, as well as the others mentioned, show that this enterprising people had discovered these favorable positions for the prosecution of their industry. But before they could have reached this far they must have felt their way along the whole southern coasts of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, testing the riches of their waters, noting the contour of their shores, and searching out their harbors.

There are only a few names on this map to the eastward, and none that can be recognized at the present day. Some others recently in use are of Portuguese origin. Off Cape Breton lies Port Novy island, originally Porto Novo. Not far away is Mira, a remarkable river, or as it has been described, "lake prolonged into the sea." This is the name of a river in the south of Portugal, and also of a smaller one farther north emptying into a long estuary, and the resemblance no doubt caused Portuguese visitors to give it the name. On the map of Viegas of 1534 we have San Paulo, now restricted to a rocky islet off Cape North, though it is not certain that it was then intended to denote the same spot. We have also a harbor or bay at the strait of Canso named S^o P^o (San Pedro), a name

still retained in our present St. Peter's. Coming to the mainland we find Tor bay, a corruption of Torre (the Portuguese for tower) bay, and I cannot conceive of the name Tangier being given to any part of this coast but from some reference to the place of that name on the Morocco coast, then held by the Portuguese.

There is one other point of importance on the map of Homem. It is the oldest map known which presents anything like a correct view of the coast of the state of Maine and New England. All former maps represent it as extending easterly and westerly and as a continuation of Nova Scotia. But this shows it as running north and south, thus giving for the first time its true configuration. Was the gulf of St. Lawrence unknown to these daring sailors? We cannot suppose that they in the prosecution of their toilsome business, having braved the storms of the Atlantic to visit the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, having pushed their explorations and their industry on the one hand along the coasts of Labrador to Hudson bay, and on the other along the shores of Nova Scotia to the New England coast and the head of the bay of Fundy, impelled alike by national rivalry and greed of gain to seek new fields, would have remained ignorant of the advantages offered them by the abundance of creatures of various kinds to be found in the waters of that sea. The neighborhood of the straits of Belle Isle from the time they were known was favorite whaling-ground, and in pursuing these monsters of the deep fishermen could scarcely avoid being led into the gulf beyond. They had ever before them the great object of a passage to the Orient, and when after finding bay after bay closed they discovered these straits showing a continuance of open water their hopes must have been kindled that here was what they had long sought. Naturally they would press onward, and with the broad expanse of waters opening before them feel perhaps that their object was gained. Cartier, after passing through the straits of Belle Isle, met a vessel of Rochelle seeking the port of Brest, to which he gave the necessary directions. This plainly shows that at that time fishermen frequented the northern coasts of the gulf of St. Lawrence by the straits of Belle Isle.

Still more likely is it that, resorting as they did to the coasts of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, they would discover the broader passage between them. We do not see how they could miss it. We believe that in fact the fishermen were sooner and better acquainted with the gulf of St. Lawrence than the map-makers and geographers at home. Charlevoix reports that he had read in memoirs that an inhabitant of Honfleurs, Jean Denys, traced a chart of it at as early a date as 1506. The Portuguese as

well as French fishermen must have early explored the gulf of St. Lawrence, and it was from them it received the name of Golfo Quadrado, or square gulf, as we find it called in the sixteenth century. This is rendered certain by a map in the National Library at Paris bearing the name of Gaspar Viegas and the date 1534, the year in which Cartier sailed on his first voyage. It depicts Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and the gulf of St. Lawrence. The entrance to the last is in something like its true proportion, but the gulf itself is far too small. On no previous map yet known is it represented with as near an approach to accuracy. Around its shores are traced islands, rivers, and bays, to which are attached names now unknown, those that are legible being all Portuguese.

The fact that these names were applied and in use proves that before Cartier entered the gulf of St. Lawrence Portuguese fishermen had explored its coasts and prosecuted their industry in its waters. These names did not afterward adhere so generally as on the coast of Newfoundland, or we may say of Nova Scotia, which shows that their visits here were of a more temporary nature than there. A careful study of the names on the gulf might furnish evidence of Portuguese influence. M. Cordeiro maintains that Anticosti is from this source, having been originally D'anta Costa. I should like an explanation of the fact that the commercial capital of Canada, the city of Champlain and Maisonneuve, after being built and occupied for more than a century by the French, should still have its name in the Spanish or Portuguese form of Monte Real rather than the French Mont Royal.

We have not evidence enough to affirm that the Portuguese passed up the river St. Lawrence under the rocky steep of Cape Diamond, visited Stadacona and Hochelaga; but there are reasons which render it highly probable. In all their explorations they never lost sight of the idea of a passage to the east; and it is worthy of remark that in the narrative of Cartier's intercourse with the natives of these places there never appears to be the indications of wonder and suspicion shown by savages on the *first* visit of white men in the garniture of civilization.

We do not maintain that the Portuguese were the only people on the field. But giving due recognition to the presence of others, enough has been adduced, we think, to show that they occupied a prominent, even the foremost, place in the exploration of the northeast coast of America in the sixteenth century. They were the first to explore the east coast of Newfoundland and Labrador minutely, and in seeking to gather the treasures of the deep they had thus early, along with the fishermen of other nations, visited the shores of Nova Scotia and the gulf of St. Lawrence, fishing in

these waters, trading with the rude aborigines, and giving names to the points with which they had become familiar. They had penetrated the bay of Fundy, and at least visited the New England coast, of both of which they were the first to make known the true configuration, and possibly had anticipated Jacques Cartier in visiting Stadacona and Hochelaga.

But was there no attempt at permanent settlement? The European princes who sent expeditions on maritime exploration had as their first object the discovery of a passage to the east, yet at the same time they contemplated the colonization of the lands they might meet in their way. When discovery revealed fields superior for fishing attention was at first directed to that industry. Those connected with it did not favor colonization, but rather threw obstacles in its way, yet the governments never lost sight of such purpose. As we have seen, in the year 1521 the king of Portugal granted John Alvarez Fagundez the lands discovered by him, embracing Nova Scotia and adjacent regions. Shortly after some gentlemen of Vianna in conjunction with him formed an association for its colonization, and, as it appears, about the year 1525 sent two vessels there with colonists. Thus nearly a century before Des Monts' colonists landed at Port Royal or the Puritans at Plymouth Rock the Portuguese had commenced settlement on our shores. The most information we have of this attempt is contained in a tract by Francesco de Lonza, entitled *Tratado das Ilhas novas*, etc. It was originally written in 1570, and was supposed to have perished in the Lisbon earthquake. But it has lately been recovered and was published at Santa Delgada, St. Michaeli, in 1877. In it the writer, in immediate connection with the discoveries of Fagundez and the desire to turn to advantage the governorship with which he had been invested, says: "It will be forty-five or fifty years since certain gentlemen of Vianna associated themselves together, and, according to information which they had of the Terra Nova de Bacallaos,* they determined to go to settle some part of it, as in fact they did go in one ship and one caravel. But finding the country to which they were bound very cold, they sailed along the coast from east to west. Then they sailed from northeast to southwest. And having lost their vessels there we have had no more news of them except through the Biscayans, who are in the habit of going to that coast for the purpose of procuring and exporting many things that are to be found there. These men give information that they had asked them to tell us at home how they were situated there, and that

* Terra Nova was at this time used generically for all the newly discovered lands to the northwest and not specifically for Newfoundland, though that was the best known.

they desired priests to be sent to them; that the natives were mild, and the country fertile and good, as I have been more fully informed otherwise, and as is well known to those who sail thither. And *this is in Cape Breton, at the commencement of the coast which runs to the north*, in a beautiful bay, where they have plenty of provision and the earth produces things of great value, many nuts, chestnuts, grapes, and other fruits. Whence the country appears to be good. There were in the company some families from the Azores, whom they took on their way, as is well known. May God in His mercy open a way by which succor may come to them. My proposal would be to go to this coast by the way when going to the island of San Francisco, which could be done in one voyage."

That the party landed on some part of the island of Cape Breton agrees with the courses stated. Newfoundland would naturally be the first objective point of their voyage. If dissatisfied there they would naturally direct their course westward. Taking a southwest direction they must necessarily have struck some part of the island of Cape Breton. The subsequent history of this company is almost entirely unknown, and it is some years before we find in Portuguese history any reference to further colonization in Terra Nova. The governorship of these regions continued to be held by the Cortereal family. On the 17th September, 1506, King Manuel, in consequence of the death of Gaspar and Miguel and the expenses and debts they had incurred in their voyages, issued letters patent to their elder brother Vasqueanes, giving him as governor of Terra Nova des Cortereals the same privileges as had been granted to them. After his death the king, on the 6th March, 1538, granted a commission to his son Manuel, appointing him to the same position. The governorship of these regions at this time must have been a position of merely nominal authority and its emoluments equally shadowy. But the family still held to the idea of making the position serve both their honor and profit. Accordingly we find Manuel preparing to send out a colony in three ships. On the 4th May, 1567, the king issued a commission to the corregidor of the Azores, in which he states that Manuel Cortereal "is now sending out two ships and one caravel with people and supplies to begin to settle Terra Nova, and is sending out a person who in his name shall take possession of the captaincy of the said Terra Nova, which he holds by grants, and who shall serve as captain and exercise jurisdiction and administer justice." And because the people were to go from the island of Terceira the king authorizes the said corregidor to appoint a notary public for the said colony, who, however, should only act for three years, in which time a

beginning might be made of peopling the land, and the king might provide such officials as were found necessary.

The history of this colony is unknown. The fact of its being under the direction of one of the Cortereals to settle land granted to the family would point to Newfoundland as the scene of operations. But whether they went to Cape Breton we cannot tell. Probably further information will yet be obtained from the Portuguese records. There is independent evidence of the existence of the Cape Breton colony. Champlain says: "In this place (Cape Breton) there are several harbors and passages where they catch fish; viz., English harbor (Louisburg), distant from the Cape Breton about two or three leagues, and the other Niganis (Ingonish), eighteen or twenty leagues more to the north. The Portuguese at one time wished to inhabit this island, but the severity of the season and the cold made them abandon their settlement." De Laet in his *Novus Orbis*, 1632, makes a similar statement.

English writers refer to it. Anthony Parkhurst, in a letter to Richard Hakluyt, dated 13th November, 1578, says: "I could find in my heart to make proof whether it be true or no, that I have read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugalls to be in that river (the St. Lawrence) *and about Cape Breton.*" Champlain, writing of the attempt in 1598 of the Marquis de la Roche to found a colony in America, and his leaving convicts on Sable island, says: "They found there bullocks and cows which the Portuguese had carried there more than sixty years ago." As Champlain wrote about 1612, this must have taken place before 1552. In exact accordance with this, the historian of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition in 1583 describes him as touching at Cape Breton, and intending to do so at Sable island, "upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, who was himself present when the Portugals, above thirty years past"—consequently before 1553—"did put into the same island, neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied."

Returning to the settlement in Cape Breton, have we any evidence to fix its site? I am convinced that it was at St. Peter's, called by the French Port Thoulouse, but now known by the name originally given by the Portuguese. A glance at the map will show that to the voyager sailing along the southern shore of Cape Breton, westwardly, this would be the first point at which the coast turns toward the north, as described by De Lonza; and those who have seen it will agree with him in describing it as a beautiful bay. At the head of this, in a commanding position, are the remains of the fort erected by the French after the cession of Nova Scotia proper in 1713; but a short distance to the west of it are the remains

of a similar structure, undoubtedly much older. The place is still known as "the old fort," and formerly had in the neighborhood the name of "the pirate fort." The late Hon. T. C. Haliburton stated to his son that it was the fixed tradition of the Micmacs that these works were constructed by a people who had been there before the French. This is confirmed by the fact that about fifty years ago some persons in pursuit of money, digging at one angle, unearthed a small cannon made as the early ones were, of bars of wrought iron bound together by iron hoops or bands.

As guns of this kind were not used later than the sixteenth century it indicates the establishment here of Europeans long before the date of any French settlement. And as the Portuguese had at this period commenced a settlement in Cape Breton, as attested by their own and French writers, while history makes no mention of any attempt of the kind by any other nation, we think that the finding of this cannon, together with the agreement of the situation with the description given by De Lonza of the locality, conclusively shows that this was the site of their settlement, *the first attempt by Europeans at colonization in the northern parts of the American continent.*

What became of this settlement? About this little is known. Do Canto tells us, and refers to the Lisbon Geographical Society as his authority, that the heirs of Fagundez sold out all their rights to the English; and Mr. R. G. Haliburton was informed by a gentleman in Vianna that the tradition in that town was to the same effect, the settlers being dissatisfied with the country in consequence of the cold. This seems to be confirmed by the manner in which the Portuguese received Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his arrival in Newfoundland in 1583. He came under a commission from Queen Elizabeth to take possession of the country in her name, which he did at St. John on the 5th August. On that occasion there were in the harbor vessels belonging to different nations, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English. But singular to say the historian has to praise "the Portugal fishermen for their kindness above those of other nations." They presented him with "wines, marmalades, most fine ruske and bisket, sweat oyles, and sundry delicacies." Again, on leaving he says, "they put aboorde our provision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete cyles, beside many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled and such like. Also wee had other necessary provisions for trimming our shippes, nettes, and lines to fish withal, boates or pinnesses fit for discoveries. In brief wee were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had been in a countrey or some citie populous and plenty of all things."

Until this time the Portuguese had claimed the sovereignty of these regions. In 1538 Manuel Cortereal was appointed governor in succession to his father, and his authority was confirmed by King Sebastian on the 12th July, 1570. But he had died and was succeeded by his son Vasqueanes, the fourth of the name, who, on the 26th May, 1579, was confirmed by the king as governor of Terra Nova. This was the year previous to the annexation of Portugal to Spain. Even after that event the office was still claimed as hereditary in the family, so that when Vasqueanes died it was claimed as having passed to his widow, Marguerite Cortereal. When an agent of the British government comes to take possession of the land and inaugurates the new authority by solemn public ceremonies the Portuguese give him a royal welcome. This can be explained only on the supposition that arrangements had been made for the transfer of their claims. Their power may have been for some time nominal, but still it was such as family pride and national honor alike would make them unwilling to relinquish, particularly in favor of a nation from whom they had hitherto been so separated in race and religion. Probably their relation at this time to the Spaniards as their conquerors, and the known feelings of the English toward that people, may have rendered them willing to concur as they actually do in a rival's taking possession of the rights granted to both Fagundez and the Cortereals.

The result of our whole investigation is to show that the Portuguese occupied a foremost place in the exploration of this part of the continent; that for a long period they exercised a commanding influence along its shores and derived from its waters if not also from the land an important addition to their national wealth; and that they were even the first Europeans to attempt colonization on our shores, and for a time seemed likely to rule the destiny of these lands.

Portuguese influence in this quarter has passed away as an exhalation of the night, the first and great reason being what they call "the sixty years' captivity" (1580-1640), when they were subject to Spain. By this their genius was repressed, their maritime power destroyed, and their energies paralyzed. During the same period England and France entered on their career of colonization in America, and when Portugal recovered her independence the field was occupied, and she was in no condition to reclaim her position against such powerful competitors. Thus her people disappeared, and a few names are all that remain to tell of their former presence.

George Patterson

THE FIRST AMERICAN SHIP

The tablet erected by the Holland Society of New York in September, 1890, at numbers 41 to 45 Broadway, New York city, bears an inscription to the effect that the *Restless*, launched at Manhattan Island in the spring of 1614, was the first vessel built by Europeans in this country.* This statement as it stands is somewhat misleading.

In 1607 a pinnace called the *Virginia* which crossed the Atlantic several times was built by the adventurers under Popham and Gilbert, at Sagadahoc.†

In 1611 a pinnace of some eighty tons called the *Deliverance*, and another of twenty-nine foot keel measure called the *Patience*, were built at Bermuda by the Virginia colonists to take the place of the *Sea Venture*, the account of whose wreck is supposed to have suggested to Shakespeare the plot of "The Tempest."‡

In 1594 a small bark of some eighteen tons was built at Bermuda by the crew of a French vessel commanded by M. de la Barbotière, which had been wrecked on the islands in December, 1593.§

In 1526 a small vessel called a *gavarra* was built by Ayllin's company to replace the loss of a brigantine with which he had sailed from Puerta de la Plata in June. The place of building this vessel was the mouth of

* One cold night in November, 1613, the *Tiger*, a Dutch vessel under the command of Captain Adriaen Block, took fire at its anchorage just off the southern point of Manhattan island, and the officers and crew escaped with much difficulty to the shore. The vessel burned to the water's edge, and as there was no other ship in the harbor the unfortunate seamen had no alternative but to make friends with the Indians and provide such habitations, probably of the wigwam family, as would protect them from the storms and cold of an American winter. Captain Block was a plain man of no inconsiderable tact and capacity, who had left the profession of the law to study the science of navigation, in which he had become an expert; and with the slender materials at command in such a desolate wilderness he constructed, during the lonely winter days, a small yacht of sixteen tons burden, which was named the *Restless*. When this craft was found seaworthy, in the spring of 1614, it was launched off the southeasterly shore of Manhattan island, and Block with his heroic crew sailed in it to explore the tidal channels to the northeast, where no large ship had yet ventured, passing the islands in the East river and the foaming strait called Hell Gate, and then were charmed to find themselves in a "beautiful inland sea," now called Long Island sound. The *Restless* was the first vessel, as far as known, to glide over these blue waters.—EDITOR.

† Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., xviii.; Winsor's History, iii., p. 177.

‡ Swackey's Narrative, Jourdan's Narrative, and Lefroy's Memorials of the Bermudas, pp. 49, 50

§ Henry May's Narrative, Lefroy's Bermudas, p. 7.

the "Jordan," in latitude 33° 40', and in the vicinity of the present site of Georgetown, South Carolina. This same company proceeded northward to the Chesapeake, and according to John Gilman Shea began the settlement of San Miguel at the place where, eighty years later, the Virginia colonists founded Jamestown.*

It is almost certain that the Spaniards built many other vessels in America in the period of more than a century before the Dutch settlement at New York, during which they maintained a prosperous system of colonies in America.

The New York tablet might be modified in either of two ways. It might bear witness to the fact that it marks the spot where was built the first vessel in this country by Dutch navigators, or that the *Restless* was the first ship built by Europeans on the coast between Cape Cod and Cape Hatteras. The phrase "this country" will inevitably be interpreted to mean America, or North America, at the very least, and will thus perpetuate a mistaken apprehension of historical fact.

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* Shea's Ancient Florida, in Winsor, ii., p. 241.

SOME CALIFORNIA DOCUMENTS

No race of people preserve letters and documents of every sort with more scrupulous care than the Spaniards. Even the poorest and most broken-down descendant of the proud native California families of the last century has possession of materials that will be of much value to the future historian. The remarkable collections of family papers accumulated by Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft were possible in few other countries except California. Having passed the period of great collections, though more is left than most people imagine, we are now entering upon a period when the publication of neglected materials will add many interesting details to the larger outlines that have already been completed by the specialists.

I have lately spent some months in looking over papers that were in the possession of General Manuel Castro, whose portrait appears in the *January Century*. The general is an old man, of extremely dignified, even grand, personal appearance. He is in reduced circumstances like many of his class, having lost all his lands after being involved in endless litigations and visionary schemes of almost every description. He always has a story for every occasion, and if California history were to be written in accordance with the magnificent results of his picturesque imagination it would out-Mexico all the stories of New Spain. It has always seemed to me that at least three or four mute, inglorious romances of a high order were buried by lack of education and opportunity in this group of Spanish-Californian leaders of the period between 1830 and 1848. They mingle the most impossible narratives, full of subtle literary effects, with the everyday events of the time. The California of their youth looms up as strange and full of legends as some floating island of the seas in the veracious chronicles of mediæval navigators who wrote on their maps, "Hereabouts there be Mermaids."

But every one of the interesting group of which old General Manuel Castro is a type reverences the written paper; the smallest scrap of correspondence is scrupulously kept and either accompanies his wanderings or is concealed in some secure hiding-place. Some of the Spanish pioneers think there is money in their *documentas*, and they always need money badly; others seem to hold these things in almost superstitious reverence, as all that is left to them of the ancient splendors of their fallen family—the casual memoranda of league-wide estates, long ago passed from their

hands, and built upon by American city-makers. In one thing, at least, they all agree: the *Gringo*, the despoiler, the lean and hungry American, is fair prey, if by any means he can be led through courtly and sweet-sounding praise and appeal to disgorge his silver and gold for sight or use of the precious family papers. Lawyers looking for evidence, newspaper men on the trail of a story, collectors of "Californiana," have each and all admired the Oriental bargaining which brings out, one by one, week after week, documents of interest mingled with utter rubbish, and keeps the investigator constantly expectant of something wonderful that is about to materialize, but never does rise clearly out of the mists of imagination. It is not that vulgar and commonplace thing that men call a swindle, even when the results are ludicrously disproportioned to the expenditure of time and money. You have been taken by devious ways and with extreme secrecy to some garret in an old shanty, and you have seen a few carefully tied packets of papers brought out from some satchel or box, or curious place of concealment; perhaps they were stuffed under the sweat-leathers of a saddle or sewed up in the bottom of a wheat-sack. You have heard a trembling voice explaining, in rich, provincial Spanish, that "these, these, Senor, are what no one else has ever been allowed to gaze upon"; and although you reserve an opinion on that point you cannot but feel that it is not acting, particularly when a moment later the old Spaniard unfolding his treasures that he has not thought of for months seizes a faded paper and presses it to his lips, saying, "It was my mother's." All the money in California would not persuade the broken-down gentleman of the Spanish period to let any one else touch the few faded lines; he puts them away and brushes the tears out of his eyes as he goes on unfolding other packages.

Enough of these preliminaries. Any collector could make a story out of such experiences. A few illustrative letters and documents may serve to show how fresh and interesting is the field of Pacific coast historical documents.

The first relic that I will present is General José Castro's proclamation of 1846, a very characteristic piece of Napoleonic imitation. General José, an uncle of Manuel, from whom this particular document was obtained, was early educated in the school of political bombast. He played a very important part in California politics before the conquest, being the leading force in several revolutions and local disturbances of long-forgotten consequence. His little *pronunciamiento* of 1846, written "on the way to Sonora," is particularly typical of the bombastic literature of the period. It reads as follows:

"General José Castro's proclamation: 1846

The Commander of the Department to its inhabitants:

Fellow citizens! With my heart full of bitterest grief I am leaving you and the country where I was born, yet with the hope of returning to destroy the slavery in which I leave you. The day will come when our unfortunate country shall duly punish a rapacious and unjust usurpation, and for the peace of the world demand satisfaction for its wrongs. My friends, I trust in your loyalty and patriotism, and as a proof of the confidence that you deserve I leave you my wife and innocent children. They remain without fortune and without the means of subsistence. Be their protection and their help. All I ask is to save the national honor.

Thankful for the attachment that you have always shown me, I pray you anew not to abandon your feelings of love toward the mother-country, and to preserve in your breasts the holy fire of liberty until the day of vengeance comes; and may you never dishonor the name of Mexican.

Fellow citizens! As I leave you my soul is filled with bitterness when I think that I leave you slaves. But the glorious day will come when your chains shall be broken, and the sweet sound shall greet you of those sacred names—Liberty and Independence.

JOSÉ CASTRO "

(Written on the way to Sonora, August, 1846.)

It is almost inconceivable that this eloquent outburst of native Californian patriotism was written by the captain of two-score lancers, in the mountains, cut off from their supplies, and hastening out of the country to which they had laid claim. It sounds like the thunderbolt of a military genius forced into temporary exile. But one looks in vain for the "return from Elba." General José only came back from Sonora after the whole coast was in American possession.

Of more ancient memory is a "land-memorandum" of 1830, signed by a famous name, that of the governor of California. This memorandum runs as follows:

"Spanish Land Memorandum

Abstract showing the amount of land owned by the persons here named:

Searg't citizen Ignacio Vallejo, 1 sitio, 8½ caballerias.

Widow and children of Searg't José Pico, 8½ caballerias.

Citizen Antonio Castro, 16½ caballerias.

Corporal Francisco Soto, $8\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.
Corporal Simeon Castro, $20\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.
Citizens José and Angel Castro, $14\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.
Citizens Mariano and Feliciano Lobezañes, $4\frac{1}{10}$ caballerias.
Citizen José Mariano Estrada, 3 sitios, $24\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.

NOTE.—The sitios (a league square) are for cattle and horses, and in all the grants of the irrigated and unirrigated lands are to be proportioned in the best manner possible.

[Signed.]

ECHEANDIA

MONTEREY, *September 30, 1830.*"

The caballeria that old Echeandia talks of was a tract of thirty-three and a third acres, which was the portion assigned after the Spanish conquest to each cavalry soldier. This was usually irrigated land in a town, and often afterward proved to be of great value. San José, Santa Clara, Los Angeles, and San Francisco have had many and furious lawsuits over these old caballeria grants of the early part of the century. The permanence of institutional forms is shown in the fact that the caballeria served as a measurement of land in all the provinces of New Spain, and is still known in Mexico.

Half a century older, I find the registers of immigrants, and these are of the greatest value to historians. I copy several descriptions of prominent Californians at the close of the eighteenth century from a Castro manuscript of about 1812, from the Spanish Register:

"Office of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. Register

Ignacio Vincente Vallejo, son of Geronimo and of Antonio Gomez, born at Nuestra Señora de las Cañadas, Obispado, Guadalajara: business, farmer; age, thirty-three years; stature, five feet, five inches, six lines. Religion, Catholic. Marks as follows: hair, chestnut; eyes, gray; nose, short; full beard; color, fair. He enlisted voluntarily for ten years in this Presidio to serve in his Company. Could write, and signed at Monterey, June 8, 1787, before Mariano Verdugo and Manuel Vargas and approved by Governor Fages in the same date.

Macario de Castro, corporal at Monterey, enlisted in the Mission of San Carlos September 12, 1788. In October also. December 2, 1787, Macario de Castro at San Juan, September 1, 1787.

José Manuel Rodriguez, son of José and Maria Antonia Estrada, born in the city of Guadalajara, enrolled at the Presidio of Monterey as carpenter. Stature, five feet; age, thirty years; color, swarthy; hair, black;

eyes, gray ; eyebrows, black ; a mole on the nose near the left eye : enlisted for ten years at Monterey, December 13, 1789, and signed before Sergeant Manuel Vargas and Corporal Macario de Castro."

Let us now turn to the Commodore Jones affair of 1840-42. It has received considerable attention from writers, but some of the correspondence among the Castro papers may be of interest. The first document that I have obtained is a letter of acting Governor Jimeno to the Alcalde at Monterey referring to the claim of Lorenzo Carmichael of Monterey—a British subject—for \$7,380, damages suffered by reason of his arrest and expulsion from the province. These "difficulties with foreigners" continued, and Americans were deeply involved. Next comes a letter of Governor Alvarado to Judge José Fernandez at Monterey, enclosing the following letter to Commodore Jones :

"November 13, 1842.

To his Excellency, Thos. apC. Jones, as follows :

Yesterday evening, the 8th, there was placed in my hands the official letter of your Excellency of October 11th last, at which time the squadron under your command had not anchored in the bay of Monterey. But believing that this was a slip of the pen I proceed to answer your said letter, stating that in consideration of my absence from Monterey and the uncertainty of my return I have requested the Prefect to give some explanation of his conduct, to whom under this date I send the formal request. One of the principal reasons of my absence was occasioned by the insurrection of a number of the savage Indians who had been reduced to order at this point and others in the district, who, doubtless believing that the events of the 19th gave them a favorable opportunity, on the same day divided into scattered bands in the mountains and forests to commit robbery and outrages upon the defenseless ranches of the jurisdiction. On this account my presence was indispensably necessary at these points to give protection to the unfortunate farmers.

With respect to the demands for indemnification made by certain subjects of the United States, who were conveyed to San Blas in April, 1840, I have always supposed that the business would be arranged by the supreme government of the Republic, besides the fact that the commander of an English man-of-war brought forward this matter anew, to whom it might not be discourteous to allow him to complete any statements and claims that he has to make in reference to the subject of his nation.

The same may now be done with regard to the American citizens before the justice of the peace and judge of the primary court of claims

of this capital of Monterey, Don José Fernandez, who has been vested with authority to hear and do justice to all complaints and claims presented as demands for justice by any foreigner who may appear before the court.

And in virtue of your claim that an express hearing shall be given to the American citizens referred to in said communication I repeat my orders to the aforesaid justice of peace that he shall hear the complainants and hasten any settlement that he considers just for the benefit of the said citizens of the United States.

[Signed.]

ALVARADO

To the Judge :

And I direct you on the receipt of the present communication to declare to the commodore that the court under your charge will be open at all hours to hear any complaint or claim made by the citizens of the United States and that you will assist all right testimony and certification of their claims, advising me of any difficulties that may arise within the ten days wherein this matter must be arranged.

To your prudence and activity I now recommend this business to prevent any new action on the part of the commodore of the naval forces and to overcome any difficulty.

God and Liberty.

[Signed.] ALVARADO "

Leaving the stormy period of revolution immediately preceding the conquest and passing over the conquest itself the difficult epoch of reconstruction is worth attention. This was the time of almost continual litigation over land titles. A typical petition of native Californians to the congress of the United States, signed by several hundred prominent Spaniards, is worthy of especial note. Among the signers are such names as Pico, Suñol, Estudillo, Sobranes, Galindo, Soto, Robles, Pacheco, and many others that were great landholders in their time. Their petition, dated February 21, 1859, reads even now as a strong and earnest appeal, and one marvels at the legislation that totally ignored its claims. It runs as follows :

" We, the undersigned, residents of the state of California and citizens of the United States, formerly citizens of the Republic of Mexico, respectfully represent : That during the war between the United States and Mexico the officers of the United States on different occasions as commanders of the land and naval forces offered and promised in the most solemn manner to the inhabitants of California protection and security for

their persons and property, and the incorporation of the said state of California into the American Union, holding out to them great advantages that would result. That in consequence of such promises and representation very few of the inhabitants of California resisted the invasion; some received the invaders with open arms, and a great part of the people received the change with satisfaction, welcoming their new guests, since their connection with the Mexican government had been very weak, and they had seen with envy the growth, greatness, prosperity, and glory of the Great Republic of the North.

When peace was established between the two nations by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo they took part in the rejoicing of their new American compatriots; in conformity with the literal sense of that solemn instrument they assumed at once the position of citizens of the United States, and from that time have held it with zeal and fidelity, believing that all their rights were embraced in the treaty which declares that '*their property would be inviolably protected and secured.*'

The people of California being obliged to devote themselves to a pastoral life and in their rural occupations ignorant of even the laws of their own country, without assistance from counselors to advise them legally, of whom there were but few in California, chose from themselves judges who were ignorant of the intricate and technical terms of law and were consequently unprepared for the exacting position of American judicial magistrates. Our population, scattered over a great extent of territory, could scarcely hope that the title by which their ancestral lands were located and held, in many cases for more than half a century, could successfully bear a close critical examination before a court. We heard with surprise and dismay that by an act of congress a commission was named with power to examine all such titles, and to confirm or annul such as they saw fit, though we did not doubt that this honorable body would take as its guide the best interest of the state. But all classes of titles were at once rendered doubtful, their source questionable, and in so far valueless unless confirmed by said commission, all having been, in fact, *compelled* to present their titles under penalty, in case of neglect, of their lands being declared public.

Your petitioners, ignorant of the forms and procedures of American courts, were obliged to employ American lawyers to represent their claims, paying them enormous fees, and having no other means save their lands to meet the cost, were compelled to give a part of their land, a fourth in many cases, and sometimes more.

The discovery of gold caused an immense immigration to this country,

and finding that the titles of the old inhabitants were placed in doubt and their validity was questioned, many swooped upon the land, taking possession of the best as if it were public, often seizing even the houses in which people had lived with their families for many years, taking and killing their cattle and destroying their harvests, so that those who before that time had possessed great numbers of cattle, counted by thousands, presently found none, and men who had been masters of many leagues of territory had peaceable possession and use of not a single acre.

The expenses of the new state government were great, and the means to meet these expenses could only be met by taxes on property, and there was very little property in the new state except the said lands. Heavy taxes were imposed by new laws, which being unpaid the lands were sold. Deprived of the use of lands from which they got no lucrative return, the owners were obliged to mortgage them to meet the payment of taxes due. With such mortgages, depreciated by the uncertainty of title, without income or rents, the owners of the said lands could only obtain ready money by the payment of enormous interest. Ordinary interest at this time was very high, and with such security it was exorbitant: even then they were compelled to sell or lose their land, for they were obliged to get ready money to buy the necessaries of life.

Hoping that the land commission would take prompt action upon their titles, they mortgaged their lands, paying interest at from three to ten per cent. per month. Relief did not come; the action of the commission was much delayed, and after the said commission had passed judgment on said titles it was still necessary to pass a rigorous ordeal in the district court, and some cases are still pending in the supreme court of the nation. Though titles were finally confirmed the surveys of the surveyor general of the United States were very greatly delayed.

Many paid the surveyors' fees, and this was made cause of objection at Washington; the surveys made by such surveyors were disallowed and patents refused simply because the costs had been paid. More than eight hundred petitions were presented to the land commission, and though more than ten years have passed not more than fifty patents have issued. Those of your petitioners who were unable to meet such exactions, interest, taxes, and the cost of litigation and maintain their families were obliged to sell by degrees the greater part of their ancient possessions. Some who had been once rich proprietors have not a foot of ground left, living on charity in sight of the land that was once covered with thousands of cattle; and those of us who by strict economy and great sacrifices have been able to save a small part of our property have heard that new meas-

ures have been proposed to keep us in suspense and absorb and consume to the last fragment the property which our forefathers left us.

Your petitioners respectfully submit that, if the faith and honor of the United States government so solemnly pledged should be sacredly kept as regards themselves, that Sonora, Lower California, and the whole north of Mexico, seeing with envy the happy state of the native Californians under their new government, would soon eagerly clamor for admission into the glorious federation; but now knowing the unfortunate condition in which the Californians lie they cling with frantic desperation to the mere shadow of protection which they still have under the jarring, weak, and insecure government of unfortunate Mexico.

It would have been much better for the state and for the new settlers themselves if all land titles which appear regularly registered in the Mexican archives should have been declared valid and the possessors of titles granted under preceding governments had been declared owners in perpetuity and possessors of the lands in question, and if the government or whatsoever person or official pretended the contrary must make their claim only before the regular courts of the country in accordance with the usual course of judicial proceedings. This would have increased the glory of the conquerors, obtained the confidence and the respect of the conquered, and contributed to the material prosperity of the whole nation."

There were many of these early petitions of the native Californians, none of which served to stay the drift of legislation and court decisions, which gradually and steadily transferred vast ranches and whole valleys, once in Spanish hands, to the restless and ambitious American squatters.

In the long run it would have been far better to have recognized the Spanish claims in the spirit of the old Spanish laws under which they were created. For a quarter of a century insecure land titles were the curse of California, and even now there are thousands of acres of fertile land upon which no man will lend a dollar because of the clouded titles, a legacy of the long and bitter race-struggle that ended in the dispossession of the native Californian.

Charles Howard Shinn.

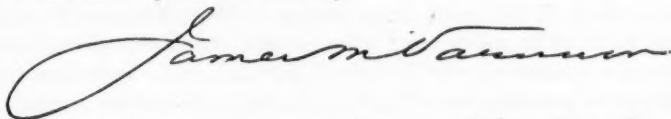
NILES, CALIFORNIA.

GENERAL VARNUM ON A CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

Editor Magazine of American History:

The following letter, written in August, 1787, by General James M. Varnum, of the continental army, has, to the best of my knowledge, never been published. The original is in my collection. It is historically most interesting as an expression of well-considered views as to the proper form of government for the United States, and it will be noticed that the suggestions therein contained were afterward, to a considerable degree, embodied in the federal Constitution.

General Varnum was recognized as one of the leading lawyers in Rhode Island, and he had been in the continental congress from 1780 to 1782, also from 1786 to May 2, 1787. This letter was written only a few months after he had ceased to be a member of that congress. The person to whom it is addressed, Hon. Mr. Holton, was probably the Hon. Samuel Holton, of Massachusetts, a member of congress, and one of the most zealous and active patriots of his day.*



"August 4, 1787

My worthy Friend:

You have several times hinted the difficulty of expressing upon paper one's ideas of an energetic federal government, altho' convinced of the inadequacy of our present system. Permit me to devote fifteen minutes to this subject; and as detail or amplification is unnecessary to an informed mind, I shall confine myself to principles.

These principles may be considered under two heads. The first as originating from the confederacy and directing the various powers that should be exercised by the nation collectively, and by the States individually. The second, as flowing from the nature of civil Society, having due regard to the customs, manners, laws, climates, religions, and pursuits of the Citizens of the United States. Under this head may be considered the manner of exercising these powers, or the government of the Nation.

* For life and portrait of General James M. Varnum see *Magazine of American History* for September, 1887.

In the first place, whatever respects the citizens collectively, or as immediately relating to the whole confederacy, whether foreign or domestic, must be subjected to the national controul, and whatever respects the citizens of a particular State, and has relation to them as such, should be directed by the States respectively. But as interferences may sometimes arise, the collective power must decide and enforce. This check would be better placed in the judiciary than the legislative branches.

In the second place, the government of the United States should be so modified as to secure the rights of the different classes of citizens. But as these are distinguished by education, wealth, and talents, they naturally divide into Aristocratical and Democratical. It is necessary, then, to form a Supreme legislative, perhaps as Congress is now formed, to originate all national laws, and submit them to the revision of a Senatorial body, which shall be formed out of equal districts of the United States, by the appointment of the Supreme legislative, and whose commissions shall be so modified as to retain an equal number of old Members in office with the new, who may form a succession. In this body should reside the power of making war and peace.

The execution of the laws both civil and military should be placed in an executive council, consisting of a President of the United States, and the Officers of the great departments of War, Finance, Foreign Affairs, and Law, to be appointed by the Senate, and commissioned during good behavior, excepting the President, who should be appointed by both the legislative and senatorial bodies, and commissioned for a term of years, or for life. All appointments of Judges and other officers, civil and military, should be made by the President, by and with advice of the council and commissioned in his name. These officers should be accountable for their conduct and triable before the respective tribunals before whom their actions would respectively be made cognizable. I think the President should not be liable to any direct prosecution, as in him would reside that part of the sovereignty which displays itself in the etiquette of nations.

In this system, the balance would be secured; military objects would be directed by the Senate, executed by the President and Council, and checked by the fiscal power of the legislative.

The subjects of revenue should be few, simple, and well defined, and in case of a very uncommon emergency, the States respectively should be called upon from contingents, which would form an ultimate and never-failing check against encroachments upon the political system.

I am Sir, Y^rs,

TO HON^{BLE} MR. HOLTON."

J. M. VARNUM

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE SLEEPING SENTINEL

Mr. L. E. Chittenden in his recently issued work, *Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration*, gives the following interesting version of a memorable historic incident:

"The story of the President and the sleeping sentinel has been so many times told that its repetition may seem like the relation of a thrice-told tale. The substantial facts are common to all its versions. A soldier named Scott, condemned to be shot for the crime of sleeping on his post, was pardoned by President Lincoln, only to be killed afterward at the battle of Lee's Mills on the Peninsula. The incidental facts are varied according to the taste, the fancy, or the imagination of the writer of each version. The number of persons who claim to have procured the intervention of the President to save the life of the soldier nearly equals that of the different versions. As these persons worked independently of each other, and one did not know what another had done, it is not improbable that several of them are entitled to some measure of credit, of which I should be most unwilling to deprive them.

The truth is always and everywhere attractive. The child loves and never outgrows its love for a real true story. The story of this young soldier, as it was presented to me, so touchingly reveals some of the kindlier qualities of the President's character that it seldom fails to charm those to whom it is related. I shall give its facts as I understood them, and I think I can guarantee their general accuracy.

On a dark September morning in 1861, when I reached my office, I found waiting there a party of soldiers, none of whom I personally knew. They were greatly excited, all speaking at the same time and consequently unintelligibly. One of them wore the bars of a captain. I said to them pleasantly: 'Boys, I cannot understand you. Pray, let your captain say what you want and what I can do for you.' They complied, and the captain put me in possession of the story, in substance as follows: William Scott, one of these Vermont boys, just of age, accustomed to his regular sound and healthy sleep, not yet inured to the life of the camp, had volunteered to take the place of a sick comrade who had been detailed for picket duty, and had passed the night as a sentinel on guard. The next day he was himself detailed for the same duty and undertook its performance. But he found it impossible to keep awake for two nights

in succession, and had been found by the relief sound asleep at his post. For this offence he had been tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot within twenty-four hours after his trial, and on the second morning after his offence was committed.

His comrades had set about saving him in a characteristic way. They had called a meeting, appointed a committee, with power to use all the resources of the regiment in his behalf, and the committee had resolved to call on me for advice because I was a Vermonter, and they had already marched from the camp to my office in Washington since daylight that morning.

The captain took all the blame from Scott upon himself. Scott's mother opposed his enlistment on the ground of his inexperience, and had only consented on the captain's promise to look after him as if he were his own son. This he had wholly failed to do. He must have been asleep or stupid himself, he said, when he paid no attention to the boy's statement that he had fallen asleep during the day, and feared he could not keep awake the second night on picket. Instead of sending some one, or going himself in Scott's place, as he should, he had let him go to his death. He alone was guilty. 'If any one ought to be shot, I am the fellow, and everybody at home would have the right to say so. There must be some way to save him; he is as good a boy as there is in the army, and he ain't to blame. You will help us, now, won't you?' he said, almost with tears.

The other members of the committee had a definite if not a practicable plan. They insisted that Scott had not been tried and gave their account of the proceeding. . . . They had subscribed a sum of money to pay counsel and offered to pledge their credit to any amount necessary to secure the boy a fair trial. . . .

'Come,' I said, 'there is only one man on earth who can save your comrade. Fortunately he is the best man on the continent. We will go to President Lincoln.' I went swiftly out of the Treasury over to the White House, and up the stairway to the little office where the President was writing. The boys followed in a procession. I did not give the thought time to get any hold of me that I, an officer of the government, was committing an impropriety in thus rushing a matter upon the President's attention. The President was the first to speak. 'What is this?' he asked. 'An expedition to kidnap somebody, or to get another brigadier appointed, or for a furlough to go home to vote? I cannot do it, gentlemen. Brigadiers are thicker than drum-majors, and I couldn't get a furlough for myself if I asked it from the War Department.' There

was hope in the tone in which he spoke. I went straight to my point. 'Mr. President,' I said, 'these men want nothing for themselves. They are Green Mountain boys of the Third Vermont, who have come to stay as long as you need good soldiers. They don't want promotion until they earn it. But they do want something that you alone can give them—the life of a comrade.'

'What has he done?' asked the President. 'You Vermonters are not a bad lot, generally. Has he committed murder or mutiny, or what other felony?' 'Tell him,' I whispered to the captain. 'I cannot! I cannot! I should stammer like a fool! You can do it better.' 'Captain,' I said, pushing him forward, 'Scott's life depends on you. You must tell the President the story. I only know it from hearsay.' He commenced like the man by the Sea of Galilee who had an impediment in his speech; but very soon the string of his tongue was loosened and he spoke plain. He began to word-paint a picture with the hand of a master. As the words burst from his lips they stirred my own blood. He gave a graphic account of the whole story and ended by saying: 'He is as brave a boy as there is in your army, sir. Scott is no coward. Our mountains breed no cowards. They are the homes of thirty thousand men who voted for Abraham Lincoln. They will not be able to see that the best thing to be done with William Scott will be to shoot him like a traitor and bury him like a dog! Oh, Mr. Lincoln, *can you?*'

'No, I can't!' exclaimed the President. It was one of the moments when his countenance became such a remarkable study. It had become very earnest as the captain rose with his subject; then it took on that melancholy expression which later in his life became so infinitely touching. I thought I could detect a mist in the deep cavities of his eyes. Then in a flash there was a total change. He smiled and finally broke into a hearty laugh as he asked me: 'Do your Green Mountain boys fight as well as they talk? If they do, I don't wonder at the legends about Ethan Allan.' Then his face softened as he said: 'But what can I do? What do you expect me to do? As you know, I have not much influence with the department.' 'I have not thought the matter out,' I said. 'I feel a deep interest in saving young Scott's life; I think I knew the boy's father. It is useless to apply to General Smith. The only thing to be done was to apply to you. It seems to me that if you would sign an order suspending Scott's execution until his friends can have his case examined I might carry it to the War Department, and so insure the delivery of the order to General Smith to-day through the regular channels of the war office.'

'No! I do not think that course would be safe; you do not know these

officers of the regular army. They are a law unto themselves. They sincerely think it is a good policy occasionally to shoot a soldier. I can see it where a soldier deserts or commits a crime, but I cannot in such a case as Scott's. They say that I am always interfering with the discipline of the army, and being cruel to the soldiers. Well, I can't help it, so I shall have to go right on doing wrong. I do not think an honest, brave soldier, conscious of no crime but sleeping when he was weary, ought to be shot or hung. The country has better uses for him. Captain,' continued the President, 'your boy shall not be shot—that is, not to-morrow, nor until I know more about his case.' To me the President said: 'I will have to attend to this matter myself. I have for some time intended to go up to the Chain Bridge. I will do so to-day. I shall then know that there is no mistake in suspending the execution.' I remarked that he was undertaking a burden which we had no right to impose; that it was asking too much of the President in behalf of a private soldier.

'Scott's life is as valuable to him as that of any person in the land,' he said. 'You remember the remark of a Scotchman about the head of a nobleman who was decapitated. It was a small matter of a head, but it was valuable to him, poor fellow, for it was the only one he had.' I saw that remonstrance was vain. I suppressed the rising gratitude of the soldiers, and we took our leave. Two members of 'the committee' remained to watch events in the city, while the others returned to carry the news of their success to Scott and to the camp. Later in the day the two members reported that the President had started in the direction of the camp; that their work here was ended, and they proposed to return to their quarters. Within a day or two the newspapers reported that a soldier sentenced to be shot for sleeping on his post had been pardoned by the President and returned to his regiment."

JOHN LAW OF INDIANA

A plain marble slab, in accordance with his often-expressed request, marks the resting-place in the Vincennes cemetery of John Law, the historian of Vincennes, a place better known in early times as "Au Poste." To the student of American history who may chance to visit this beautiful city on the Wabash, Judge Law is one of the most interesting characters as well as one of the most noted men who ever dwelt there. This interest in him is due in part to his scholarship, his social traits, his beneficent and conspicuous public services to his country, and to the fact that he was the first authentic historian of Vincennes, or the "fort" on the "Ouabache," first known among the Indians as Chippe Coke or Brush Wood. Post Vincennes was a very important point during the Revolutionary struggle and in the early opening of the great northwest, and for this reason Judge Law's history becomes a valuable source of information to all students.

New London, Connecticut, was the birthplace of Judge Law, and he first saw the light October 2, 1796. His early life was in nowise distinguished from the ordinary youth of his day. When eighteen years old he was graduated from Yale, afterward studied law, and in 1817 was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of his native state. The same year, which was that after Indiana was admitted into the Union, he started for the "great far west," as Post Vincennes was considered when there were no railroads or telegraph lines in the country. In that pioneer French town he opened a law-office and practiced his profession. He soon gained prominence, and in the course of a long and useful life held many responsible official positions. His talents and eloquence advanced him in public estimation, and for nearly half a century he was a leading citizen of the southern part of Indiana.

Not long after the alliance of his interests with those of Vincennes he was elected prosecuting attorney of that circuit, then embracing nearly one-half of the settled portion of the state. It was during his term of office, while Judge Jacob Call was occupying the bench, that the first legal execution took place in Knox county. He was elected to the legislature in 1823 and served in that body actively and well, yet his tastes did not run in political directions and when his term expired he returned to the practice of his profession. In 1830 the Indiana legislature elected him

judge of the seventh judicial circuit, a position he held for one year, retiring March 30, 1831. He presided, however, as judge upon the same bench from March, 1844, to March, 1850. President Van Buren in 1838 appointed him receiver of public moneys for the district of Vincennes, a post he filled faithfully four years. His commission included the power to adjust land titles.

Associated with James B. McCall, Lucius H. Scott, and his brother William H. Law, Judge Law purchased a tract consisting of seven hundred acres of land on the Ohio river, adjoining Evansville, and laid it out in lots, giving it the name of Lamasco, now a part of Evansville. The name was derived from the first letters of the names of the owners of the land. After the completion of the Wabash & Erie canal to Evansville he moved there with his family in 1851. In 1855 President Pierce appointed him judge of the court of claims for Indiana and Illinois, the court to be held at Vincennes. Being a man of large intellectual calibre his decisions were rarely called in question. His patriotic friends induced him to run for congress from the first district of Indiana in 1860, and he was elected, serving on the library committee and on the committee on Revolutionary pensions. As chairman of the latter committee he drew and reported a bill to the national legislature, and it was passed, allowing the twelve remaining soldiers of the Revolutionary war a pension of one hundred dollars a year each. By this act he made happy these old veterans as they tottered to the grave. Law was reelected to congress in 1862, and his congressional career was eminently useful. He impressed his fellow-members with his broad and liberal intellect, and gained their respect, and received the regrets of his constituents when he retired once more to private life. On several occasions he was a prominent candidate for the United States senate. He died in Evansville October 7, 1873, and in accordance with his request was buried at Vincennes, where his wife and children are also buried.

Judge Law married Sarah Ewing, a daughter of Nat Ewing, the first receiver of public moneys at the Vincennes land-office. He reared a large family of sons and daughters. His son Richard was a prominent officer in the United States navy. One of his daughters married Judge Chambers Patterson of Terre Haute, Indiana; and another married D. J. Mackey, the railroad magnate of Evansville.

The Law family through many generations has a notable history for distinguished public service. Jonathan Law, the great-grandfather of the subject of this brief sketch, was chief-justice and lieutenant-governor of Connecticut for many years, and governor of that colony from May, 1741,

to his death in 1750. His son Richard, the grandfather of John Law, was a delegate to the old congress, and after the Revolution with Roger Sherman revised and codified the statute laws of Connecticut; in May, 1786, he was appointed chief-justice of that state. His son Lyman, born in 1770, the father of John Law, was an eminent jurist and a member of congress from 1811 to 1817. Thus three generations of the Laws have figured in the national congress. John Law's maternal grandfather also, Amasa Learned, was a member of the first congress under the Constitution, and therefore contemporary with the great men who framed the government and put the machinery in motion.

Colonel François Vigo presented a claim against the United States for provisions and war materials furnished General George Rogers Clark in 1779, when Clark captured Vincennes from the British, and Judge John Law was his attorney in this celebrated case against the government. More than forty years after the goods were furnished congress agreed to pay the principal of the draft drawn by General Clark. The claim was for nearly eight thousand dollars, but Colonel Vigo refused the proposed payment unless the interest was also paid. Both principal and interest were paid in 1877, but prior to the settlement both Colonel Vigo and Judge Law had passed away. Justice was never done them by the government they served. The payment of the claim to the heirs was the sorriest sort of justice.

Judge Law and Thad Stevens were warm friends, and maintained a correspondence until Mr. Stevens' death in 1868. Judge Law was also on intimate friendly relations with President Lincoln. It is a fact not generally known that he gave Mr. Lincoln his first case in the supreme court of Illinois, and always admired the martyred President for his many genial and noble traits of manly manhood, and no one grieved more than he over the unfortunate death of Mr. Lincoln.

Many of the people of Vincennes remember Judge John Law, and in talking with them about him some idea is obtained of the mental make-up of the man. He had a fine legal mind, and to him the evidence and reasons for things, past and existing, must stand out clearly or be put in the category of unproved matters. When he began to look into or weigh a subject he was not satisfied with a post-haste survey of its topography, so to speak, but he took his angles and bearings and blazed every line he laid out. His mind was penetrative rather than discursive, logical rather than oratorical. Not a Titan, still he was a man of large and commanding figure and possessed a well-formed and well-developed physique. He was a little above the average stature, portly and distinguished in appearance,

and weighed about two hundred and twenty-five pounds. His general air was that of an intellectual, dignified man. His features were benevolent not harsh, his cheek-bones prominent, and he had what is called a Roman nose. His voice was clear and strong and would easily reach the farthest auditor. By many he was esteemed one of the finest orators in the state.

His greatest work, that which will do him the most honor in after generations, is *The History of Vincennes*, at first an address before the Indiana Historical and Antiquarian Society when he was its president. Two thousand copies of it were soon exhausted, and in 1858 he published a new edition with additions and illustrations, which was also soon exhausted, so that now it is extremely difficult to secure a copy.

VINCENNES, INDIANA.

Frank A. Myers,

THE FAIRY ISLE OF MACKINAC

A SONNET

Thy breezy isle, O Mackinac, I sing—
Thou emerald brooch on Huron's bosom set—
Unkissed of Michigan's blue billows yet,
Though their twain waters swift to blending spring.
O'er thee old Romance and fresh Nature fling
A thousand charms which hasty footsteps let,
Or prick necessity with keen regret—
When seeing fades to faint remembering.
Three flags thy forests and thy forts have waved
Successive to the winds of inland seas;
Thy Indian warriors crimson battles fought,
Their dusky maids thy cliffs with love tales fraught,
And History's hand thy grotesque rocks has graved
With famous legends for three centuries.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

Wm. L. Richards

MINOR TOPICS

THE HISTORIC FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE"

1807 AND 1813

In the year 1807, when the ill-starred frigate *Chesapeake* was attacked and disabled by the British while leaving her port for a distant service, Dr. John Bullus was among her passengers, on his way to a consulate in the Mediterranean, accompanied by his wife and three young children. They were at dinner when the vessel was fired into by the British frigate *Leopard*, which had followed the *Chesapeake* to sea, and having made a signal to speak, the latter "hove to" on the starboard tack. No trouble was anticipated, Commodore Barron of the *Chesapeake* supposing dispatches were to be forwarded to Gibraltar. The *Leopard* sent an officer on board the *Chesapeake* to demand the right of search for alleged British deserters, which was promptly rejected, and the firing of a broadside into the *Chesapeake* immediately followed. There was no chance for defense; the crew were not at quarters, and the wet hempen cables of the day were coiled over and lumbered many of the guns, only one of which was fired into the *Leopard*. Mrs. Bullus, who was the daughter of Colonel Charles Rumsey of Maryland, and her children were removed from the cabin to a temporary place of safety, but Dr. Bullus was on deck during the whole affair. On the occasion of the death of this lady, in 1868, Mr. Hamilton Morton wrote a sketch of her for the *New York Times* in which was the following statement:

"An officer from the *Leopard* came on board the *Chesapeake* (reported to be sinking) with a message from Captain Humphries to Dr. Bullus, suggesting the removal of his family to the *Leopard*. Dr. Bullus (before in the navy), whose patriotism and indignation had been sternly aroused, repelled the suggestion, and also conveyed to the official visitor in terms so unmeasured and unmistakable, his own opinion of the outrage perpetrated upon the honor of his country by Captain Humphries, as to induce the party addressed to place his hand upon his sword, whereupon Dr. Bullus, seizing a sword from the side of a by-stander, opened a cut-and-thrust combat in singular contrast with the so-called one to which it was a sequel, but which speedy interposition prevented resulting disastrously to either party.

Four of the crew of the *Chesapeake* were killed and sixteen wounded. Of the impressed seamen, three were natives of America. About four years after this occurrence some provision was made by the British government to support the seamen who had been disabled, together with the families of the men killed or

wounded, and the two impressed Americans remaining alive were restored upon the same deck from which they had been wrested, the *Chesapeake* being then in the harbor of Boston. After the affair with the *Leopard* the *Chesapeake* returned to port.

Dr. Bullus relinquished the consulate appointment and received that of navy agent for the port of New York, which he held for many years, and was the intimate friend and hospitable entertainer of all the old school of naval officers and heroes as well as our most prominent citizens. During the war of 1812 his patriotism and indefatigable zeal were recognized and made available by Commodore Chauncey in accomplishing with astonishing dispatch the transformation of growing trees of the forest into formidable squadrons on the lakes."

The following letter from Lieutenant George Budd to the secretary of the navy at Washington, describing the capture of the *Chesapeake* in 1813, was published in a weekly New York newspaper of the period, known as the *War*, an original copy of which is now before me.—EDITOR.]

"HALIFAX, June 15, 1813

Sir, The unfortunate death of Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow has rendered it my duty to inform you of the capture of the late U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*.

On Tuesday, June 1st, at eight a. m., we unmoored ship, and at meridian got under way from President's Roads, with a light wind from the southward and westward, and proceeded on a cruise. A ship was then in sight in the offing which had the appearance of a ship-of-war, and which, from information received from pilot-boats and craft, we believed to be the British frigate *Shannon*. We made sail in chase, and cleared ship for action. At half-past four p. m. she hove to with her head to the southward and eastward. At five p. m. took in the royals and top-gallantsails, and at half-past five hauled the courses up. About fifteen minutes before six p. m. the action commenced within pistol-shot. The first broadside did great execution on both sides, damaged our rigging, killed among others Mr. White, the sailing-master, and wounded Captain Lawrence. In about twelve minutes after the commencement of the action, we fell on board of the enemy, and immediately after one of our arm-chests on the quarter-deck was blown up by a hand-grenade thrown from the enemy's ship. In a few minutes one of the captain's aids came on the gun-deck to inform me that the boarders were called. I immediately called the boarders away and proceeded to the spar-deck, where I found that the enemy had succeeded in boarding us, and had gained possession of our quarter-deck. I immediately gave orders to haul on board the fore-tack for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the other, and then made an attempt to regain the quarter-deck, but was wounded and thrown down on the gun-deck. I again made an effort to collect the boarders, but in the meantime the enemy had gained com-

plete possession of the ship. On my being carried down in the cockpit, I there found Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, both mortally wounded. The former had been carried below previously to the ship's being boarded; the latter was wounded in attempting to repel the boarders. Among those who fell early in the action were Mr. Edward J. Ballard, the fourth lieutenant, and Lieutenant James Broom, of marines.

I herein enclose to you a return of the killed and wounded, by which you will perceive that every officer upon whom the charge of the ship would devolve was either killed or wounded previously to her capture. The enemy report the loss of Mr. Watt, their first lieutenant, the purser, the captain's clerk, and twenty-three seamen killed; and Captain Broke, a midshipman, and fifty-six seamen wounded.

The *Shannon* had, in addition to her full complement, an officer and sixteen men belonging to the *Belle Poule* and a part of the crew belonging to the *Terredos*.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, etc.,

GEORGE BUDD

The HON. WILLIAM JONES,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

BURNING OF THE STEAMBOAT "LEXINGTON"

[An article entitled "Disasters on Long Island Sound," published in the June (1890) issue of this magazine, has awakened much interest [xxiv., 150; xxv., 341] relative to the actual survivors who lived to tell the thrilling story of the accident. The daughter of Hon. Jonathan Godfrey of Southport, Connecticut, Mrs. E. H. Schenck, who as a child was an eye-witness, sends us the following authentic statement concerning the facts in question.—EDITOR.]

The steamboat *Lexington* was built by Bishop & Simpson of New York in 1835, and owned by Cornelius Vanderbilt until 1838. On the afternoon of January 13, 1840, the *Lexington* left New York for Stonington, laden principally with bales of cotton. There were over fifty passengers on board. About half-past seven o'clock that evening the alarm of fire was given, but the flames spread so rapidly that every effort to save the burning steamer proved useless. The panic-stricken passengers rushed wildly to the life-boats, which, when lowered, filled with water, and all who sought safety in them were lost, among whom was Captain Childs of the *Lexington*. Several clung to the railing of the steamer and went down with her when she sunk about three o'clock in the morning. Others sought safety on bales of cotton, but as the night was bitterly cold and the waves ran high some of them were soon overcome with cold and fell off into the water. An effort was made by four brave men of Southport, Connecticut, who started out in yawl boats to go to the relief of those on the burning steamer, but after a fruitless search they returned about one o'clock in the morning, almost frozen from the cold and drenched with the spray of the waves which dashed over them.

Early in the morning Captain Meeker of Southport, Connecticut, sent out the sloop *Merchant* to obtain tidings of the *Lexington*. Off Stratford the *Merchant's* crew picked up five bales of cotton, and soon after they rescued from bales of cotton Captain Chester Hilliard of Norwich, Connecticut, the almost lifeless body of Captain Stephen Manchester, the pilot of the *Lexington*, and Charles Smith of Norwich. They also took from drift-wood two dead bodies. As evening approached the *Merchant* returned to Southport. Captain Hilliard, who had opened the bale of cotton he was on and covered himself as far as possible with its contents, was uninjured, and before the *Merchant* reached Southport was transferred to the steamboat *Nimrod*, bound for Bridgeport. Captain Manchester, whose limbs were badly frozen, was taken into the hospitable home of the Hon. Jonathan Godfrey, and after six weeks of great suffering recovered and left for home. Charles Smith was also badly frozen, and was taken care of by a Mrs. Jelliff until able to return home. The two unknown dead bodies were buried in the cemetery at Mill Plain. Another survivor of the ill-fated *Lexington* was the second mate, David Crowley, who on a bale of cotton reached Fresh Pond Landing, L. I., and bareheaded and in his shirt-sleeves, with frozen limbs, crawled over the ice on the beach and made his way three-quarters of a mile to the nearest house, where he fell fainting at the door. He also recovered and returned home. Captain Hilliard stated before the coroner's inquest held in New York a few days after the loss of the *Lexington* that not more than twenty minutes elapsed before the flames and smoke made it impossible to remain on the steamer. Charles Smith, who was near the steamer, stated that he saw her sink about three o'clock in the morning.

Several valuable boxes of specie sent from the Merchant's Bank of New York to Boston were lost. The Merchant's Bank sued the owners of the *Lexington* for the full value of the specie. The case was carried to the supreme court of the United States, where a decision was rendered in favor of the bank. This decision led to an act being passed in 1851 which changed the maritime laws of the country. But it was not till about 1866 that a decision was reached by which steamboats and public carriers in case of accident were not made wholly responsible.

E. H. SCHENCK

THE LIVINGSTONS OF AMERICA

Editor Magazine of American History:

If you can make room in your excellent periodical for the following letter I shall esteem it a favor. It appeared in the London *Athenaeum* of February 22, also in the New York *Times* of March 29.

CLEMENT LIVINGSTON

IDELE, TIVOLI-ON-HUDSON.

"22 GREAT ST. HELENS, Feb. 14, 1891

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, the author of *The History of New York*, one of a useful series of historical manuals which was recently noticed in your

columns, in alluding to the leading families of his city in colonial times, makes the following assertion :

'Many of the leading families in colonial times were descended from the Old World gentry. Many others sprang from successful adventurers of almost unknown ancestry. The Livingstons, for instance, one of the really noted New York families, were descended from a young Scotch factor, just like hundreds of penniless, pushing young Scotchmen who have come to this country in the steerage of sailing-ship or steamer during the present century. Of the men of high social standing in the Old World who came over to make their fortunes in the New, probably the majority failed, and their descendants slipped down into the lower ranks of the population.'—*Vide* Roosevelt's *New York*, page 72, note.

Now, from the above paragraph it would appear that this distinguished and historical New York family was of 'almost unknown ancestry,' and it is surprising that a New Yorker like Mr. Roosevelt should not know better, considering the American Livingstons, ever since their settlement in the New World over two hundred years ago, have always claimed to be descended from the old Scottish Lords Livingston.

That this claim is no mere idle boast, recent researches undertaken by me into the history of this family both in Scotland and in America clearly prove. The result of these researches is briefly as follows :

The above founder of the principal American branch of the Livingston family (whose Christian name was Robert) was the youngest son of the celebrated Presbyterian minister, the Rev. John Livingston of Ancrum, who died in exile at Rotterdam in 1672. Robert emigrated to America during the following year. This John was the son of another well-known Covenanting minister, the Rev. William Livingston of Lanark, who acted as spokesman for his party in their welcome of the Marquis of Hamilton into Edinburgh as the King's Commissioner in 1638. The Rev. William Livingston died in 1641. He, again, was the son of yet another Scottish minister, the Rev. Alexander Livingston of Monyabroch (now Kilsyth), and from some ancient family deeds, now in the possession of Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, it is proved that he had been presented to this benefice, as its first Reformed minister, by William, sixth Lord Livingston, prior to the 15th of March, 1560-61, as upon that date he executed a deed by which he feued half his glebe to another William Livingston. This deed is also interesting from the fact that it is signed by both Lord Livingston the patron and Alexander Livingston the rector, and has both their seals attached in fairly good preservation. The minister's seal bears the Livingston and Callendar quarters as borne by his patron, with this distinction, that in the Livingston quarters on the former seal there is only one cinquefoil instead of the usual three. This may have been intended as a mark of cadency. So far we have authentic documentary evidence to guide us, but now the link required to connect the Rev. Alexander Livingston with the head of his house is unfortunately missing. According to the statement made by the

Rev. John Livingston in his well-known autobiography, the father of the above Alexander was 'a son of the Lord Livingston, which house thereafter was dignified to the Earls of Linlithgow,' and was slain at 'Pinkie Field *anno Christi* 1547.' Unfortunately, so far this statement remains 'not proven,' though from the evidence already collected I consider it is a highly probable one. At any rate, leaving this out of the question, enough has been proved to show that the ancestors of the American Livingstons in the old country were men of position and standing, and that, therefore, it cannot be correct to state that the founder of this family in the New World was of 'almost unknown ancestry.'

As this is, I believe, the first *History of New York* ever published in London, your kind insertion of the above facts in your valuable paper will much oblige

E. B. LIVINGSTON, F. S. A. Scot.,

Author of 'The Livingstons of Callendar and their Principal Cadets.'"

ANECDOTES OF THE KING OF ITALY

A very cordial friendship exists between king and queen, and the former relies much on his wife's judgment, which is frequently clear and sound. Some pretty anecdotes are told of their domestic life. Thus the queen was anxious that her husband should follow the example of his father, and the fashion common among elderly Piedmontese officers, and dye his hair, which has become quite white. Her pleadings were in vain. Umberto's is an honest nature that does not love these subterfuges. Seeing petition was in vain, the queen had recourse to stratagem. She caused a quantity of fine hair-dye to be sent from Paris and put in the king's dressing-room, together with directions for its use, making, however, no allusion to the subject. The king, too, said nothing, though he could not fail to have seen the pigments. Now the queen has a large white poodle, of which she is very fond. What was her horror, a few days later, to see her pet come running into her room, with his candid locks of the deepest black hue! King Umberto had expended the dyes upon the poodle. From that day forth the subject of hair-dyeing was dropped between the royal couple. On yet another occasion, the husband gave the wife one of those quiet rebuffs into which enters a sense of humor, and which are on that account less hard to bear. It appears that Umberto once asked one of the queen's secretaries what would be an acceptable Christmas present for her majesty. This gentleman, a truer friend than courtier, had the courage to suggest to the king that the queen had a large number of unpaid milliners' and dressmakers' bills. The king took the hint, and begged that they should all be given to him. On Christmas morning Umberto placed all these bills, receipted, under the queen's table-napkin. There was no other present besides. It is said that she took the hint, and has been less extravagant since.—*Sovereigns and Courts of Europe.*

NOTES

CROMWELL'S ATTEMPT TO SETTLE NEW ENGLANDERS IN IRELAND—The interesting papers printed in Ellis's *Original Letters on English History* and Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* in regard to the proposition of Cromwell, after his success in Ireland, to remove the New England settlers to the Emerald Isle, are supplemented by the following curious document published by the Rev. Dr. O'Rörke in his recent *History of Sligo*:

"Edmund Leech to be admitted tenant to the lands about Sligo.

Upon consideration had of the petition and proposalls of Mr. Edmund Leech and others for the plantation of the toune of Sligo, and some lands thereabouts, with families out of New England:—It is ordered that the Commissioners General of the Revenue do lett unto the said Edmund Leech the lands about Sligo, commonly called the Statue Mile, and the two little islands, viz.—Oyster Island and Coney Island (containing by estimation two thousand acres or thereabouts) for the use and behoof and interest of such English families as shall come from New England in America, in order to the said Transplantation for the tenure of one year from May next, upon such terms and conditions as they shall consider reasonable for the encouragement of said planters.

Dublin, 10th, April, 1655.

Thomas Herbert,
Clerk to ye Council."

I infer that the Edmund Leech re-

ferred to above is the same "Edmund Leach" who was so prominent in New Haven about 1649.

It is also curious to note the similarity of the names Oyster and Coney islands, both of which are identified with the harbor of New York.

WILLIAM KELBY

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE—Mr. Thomas Willing Balch is about to publish, through Porter & Coates in Philadelphia, a translation of a book published in French by his father, the late Thomas Balch, in Paris, in 1872, *The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783*. It is an account of the part taken by the French corps under Rochambeau, largely drawn from hitherto inaccessible material. Miss Elise Willing Balch printed in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, in 1877, a translation of an unpublished memoir by the Prince de Broglie, who was here with Lauzun; and in Vol. XV. (1886) of this magazine she added some very important notes on the same theme. Now her brother proposes following his translation of his father's book with another volume giving the accounts written by Dupetit, Thouars, and Cromot Dubourg. The elder Mr. Balch was one of the few Americans able to write equally well in French and in English, and his son has the same mastery of both languages which marked Miss Balch's good translation of the Broglie memoir. Mr. Balch left among his papers a collection of letters written by American loyalists during the Revolution, and these

will add largely to our knowledge of their view of that struggle, when his son prints them.

UNIFORM OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY — Colonel Landmann, of the British army, describes in his *Recollections* the American officers on duty at the fort on the island of Michilimackinac (or Mackinaw) in May, 1799: "The American garrison was composed of two companies under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Birbank [Henry Burbeck]; and that amongst the officers under his command was Captain [Abner] Prior and Lieutenant Wiley [Richard Whaley]; the latter belonged to the corps of artillerists and engineers. The officers wore yellow leather breeches and hard boots up to the caps of their knees, some with and others without yellow tops. The uniforms were blue coats, red facings and linings, with plain yellow buttons. The bayonets were all

fastened on the muskets, and on coming off guard, the muskets being all loaded with balls, instead of drawing the charges the soldiers were made to fire them off at a target, when he who made the best shot was rewarded with half a pint of rum.

Lieutenant-Colonel Birbank, who resided in a very respectable building, which had been erected by the English government whilst that place was occupied by our troops, was a little man, as stiff as his boots, awkwardly consequential, and passed for a martinet. Captain Prior was a tall, rough, tobacco-chewing, rum-and-water man, with a few very brown teeth dispersed in various parts of his mouth. Lieutenant Wiley was a young, fair, beardless personage, on good terms with himself, and placed great reliance for his military dignity on the length of his boots and the thickness of his queue."

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

REV. JOSEPH HANMER—In the interesting article on the *Chesapeake* and Lieutenant Ludlow in your last issue, reference is made to the marriage of Gabriel Ludlow of New York to a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Hanmer, chaplain to the British forces in the province of New Brunswick. As this was the year that Acadia was surrendered to France by the treaty of Ryswick, the statement is of importance as proving the presence of a minister of the Church of England in Nova Scotia at that early period. Reference to the authority on which

the statement is made is respectfully requested.

STUDENT

MISSING PORTRAIT OF DE WITT CLINTON—The Rochester Historical Society is looking for a portrait of De Witt Clinton which has been missing many years. It cost \$400 and was the gift of leading citizens to the Franklin Institute at the time when the Erie Canal made Clinton the idol of western New York. Will the readers of the *Magazine of American History* assist the good people of Rochester in their search for

this lost portrait by reporting any oil painting of De Witt Clinton they may know of, with *the name of the artist* if possible, in whose name lies the clue to ownership?

JANE MARSH PARKER,
Corresponding Secretary

GENERAL JACKSON'S BATTLES—*Editor of Magazine*: Can you or any reader give me the name by which each of the three encounters between General Jackson and the British near New Orleans is known (on the 23d and 28th December, 1814, and January 1, 1815)? Was not one known as the battle of Chalmette?

W. ABBATT

GENERAL JACKSON'S GOLD SNUFF-BOX—General Andrew Jackson directed in his will that the gold snuff-box given to him by the corporation of New York in 1819 with the freedom of the city, should be presented to the bravest soldier in the next war that occurred. After the close of the Mexican War it was claimed by several persons belonging to the First Regiment of New York Volunteers; the contest lay finally between Dyckman and Burnett. Andrew Jackson, Jr. (the adopted son of the general) refused to decide the merits of the claimants and took the box with him to South Carolina. What is the subsequent history of this interesting relic?

VETERAN

REPLIES

THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY [xxv. 244, 340]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: The *Hunters of Kentucky* (25, 244) was written by Samuel Woodworth, author of "The Old Oaken Bucket." In early childhood, (1827) my brother and I took great pleasure in reciting these verses, which we learned from a volume of Woodworth's poems belonging to our father.

M

BROOKLYN, April 4, 1891.

THE FIRST WHITE FEMALE CHILD BORN IN NEW YORK [xxv. 292]—There is an error in the statement made in the April number of the Magazine, where it is claimed that Elizabeth Gardiner was "the first white woman born in the limits of the present state of New York." Elizabeth Gardiner was born September

14, 1641, while Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Joris Rapaelje, was born at Albany, June 9, 1625, being the first white female child of European parentage born in New Netherlands.

There seems also to be some error in the statement that Elizabeth Gardiner married a Conkling; she married about 1657 Arthur Howell. Her elder sister Mary, born at Saybrook, Connecticut, August 30, 1638, married about 1658 Jeremiah Conkling.

MINTO

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS [xxv. 255]—Junius was the name or signature of a writer who published, at intervals between the years 1769 and 1772, a series of political papers, forty-four in number, on the leading questions and men of the day, among them George III. The authorship was a mystery then and re-

mains a puzzle still, as it was apparent that the letters were the work of no common man. They were models of letter writing.

AMOS

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS [xxv. 255]—
I believe in gratifying the curiosity of those in quest of useful information, and that Walter Hyde may understand the matter clearly, I quote from Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, which, though not intended for a biographical or historical any more than a "theological tract," may throw light upon the point of inquiry. Junius, in the poem, was summoned to testify in a cause then on hearing, wherein Satan was complainant and St. Michael respondent, involving title to the soul of George III., who was an applicant for admission through the gates kept by St. Peter. Byron, who reported the trial, asserts:

"The more intently the ghosts gazed [upon Junius] the less
Could they distinguish whose the features were;
The Devil himself seem'd puzzled even to guess;
They varied like a dream—now here, now there;
And several people swore from out the press,
They knew him perfectly; and one could swear

He was his father; upon which another
Was sure he was his mother's cousin's brother:

Another, that he was a duke or knight,
An orator, a lawyer, or a priest,
A nabob, a man-midwife; but the wight
Mysteriously changed his countenance at least
As often as they their minds; though in full sight

He stood, the puzzle only was increased:
The man was a phantasmagory in
Himself—he was so volatile and thin.

The moment that you pronounced him one
Presto! his face changed, and he was another;

And when that change was hardly put on,
It varied, till I don't think his own mother
(If that he had a mother) would her son

Have known, he shifted so from one to t'other;

Till guessing from a pleasure grew a task,
At this epistolary 'Iron Mask.'

Enough has been quoted to suggest to Mr. Hyde that the mystery pertains not so much to the letters as to the identity of their author. If he will read the poem he will learn Byron's conclusion, viz.: that the letters were written by "nobody at all," basing his hypothesis upon the idea that as letters are written without heads they may also be written without hands.

A. B. MASON

SAC CITY, IOWA, March 17, 1891.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for April was held on Tuesday evening, the 7th inst. The president, Hon. John A. King, spoke at length on the life and services of the late Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, who was a member of the society for thirty-four years. He also made remarks on the death of the late George W. W. Houghton, who was active in the work of the society for many years.

Ainsworth R. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, read the paper of the evening on "The Early History of the Press of the United States." Mr. Spofford began by briefly contrasting the obscure and humble origin of the American press with its mighty development in our own age, when its influence can scarcely be measured in words, while its profits have built palaces for the conduct of its daily business in almost every city from Boston to San Francisco. In so wide a field as that of the early press, he could not attempt more than to glean a few scattered ears which might have escaped attention in a field already well reaped. Ours was the only country in which journalism had become established without a long and severe struggle with power. From the days of the *Boston News Letter*, started as the first American newspaper in 1704, down to the close of Washington's administration in 1797, graphic sketches were given of leading journals, with brief extracts from their editorial and advertising columns, many of which were strong and spicy, and others very amusing to a modern reader. Dr. Franklin was alluded to as a great

journalist, though he never pursued it as his chief avocation. The period of the Revolution illustrated the public spirit and ability of the conductors of the press, which was the most powerful agency in that, as in all reforms. The able and vigorous opposition of the American Tories to the cause of independence, as carried on in the journals, was recognized, and their witty pasquinades in ridicule of the American rebels were quoted. The triumph of certain early printers in prosecutions for seditious libel was narrated, and it was shown that, as early as 1776, most states had engrafted in their constitutions the guarantee of absolute freedom of the Press. Some prevalent errors about the early press were corrected, and the abundant advertising of lotteries, negro slaves, etc., a hundred years ago, was pointed out, in evidence that "the good old times" were not all good. In the same direction, the party diatribes and personal abuse of President Washington were cited at some length. *Per contra*, the profuse publication of trivialities and scandals by the modern press was criticised, and the wanton waste of space and the time of readers over long details of personalities and crimes was characterized as deplorable. The mad rush for sensations, at the frequent expense of truth, was noted, and the reference to this subject in a historical address was because those engaged in the never-ending task of separating history from fiction have an interest in protesting against a conduct of the modern press whereby the area of fiction is in-

calculably enlarged, and that of history correspondingly curtailed. The speaker closed with a glowing tribute to the wit and wisdom which have animated the press in every age, from the earliest until now. Among its conductors were to be found men of the highest intellectual capacity and moral courage—laborious, and oftentimes unaccredited heroes, who were benefactors of our race, and worthy of immortal honor.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting, March 14. "The Reminiscences of a Pioneer Settler" was the subject of a paper read by Mr. Charles H. Wiltsie. Mr. J. W. Bissell, notably identified with early Rochester, gave many of his recollections, answering questions, and telling amusing stories. Hon. Wm. F. Peck presented a paper correcting several common newspaper statements concerning Lawrence and Leonard Jerome when citizens of Rochester. Action was taken initiatory to the coöperation of the society with the Board of Education, in celebrating, in May next, the semi-centennial of the present public-school system. One of the committees on historical relics made a report upon the old sun-dial.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its April meeting on Friday evening, April 10. General Wilson presided. After the business part of the meeting, Rev. Arthur Wentworth Eaton presented an interesting address on "English Garrison Life" in Halifax, Nova Scotia, one of the most popular colonial military stations in the British dominions. Referring to the in-

terest lately aroused in Anglo-India society by Kipling's stories, Mr. Eaton took occasion to show the close resemblance between that and Halifax society, noting the high breeding and aristocratic traditions and gayety of Halifax people, of the magnificence of the fortifications, of the glitter of the soldier's uniform, the excitement made by the coming and going of the troops. He gave to his lecture great historic value by describing the founding of Halifax by Lord Cornwallis in 1749—an idea first suggested by the people of Massachusetts Bay—and its settlement under the auspices of the loyalists of the Revolution, who flooded Nova Scotia between 1776 and 1783. He spoke especially of the socially brilliant period of Sir John Wentworth's administration, and of Lady Wentworth's tact, and dwelt at some length on the residence in Halifax of the Duke of Kent. Also drew especial attention to the close relationship between many of the best Nova Scotia families and those of New York and New England, the Nova Scotians being largely descendants of New Englanders who settled on the Acadian lands after the exile of their French owners, and of the loyalists, thirty thousand of whom went to Nova Scotia from the United States during or shortly after the Revolution.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting March 10, the president, Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, in the chair. Dr. M. M. Bagg reported the receipt of a number of books, among them several from the late Mrs. Catherine Rockwell, on religious subjects. The same lady gave a sea cap-

tain's outfit of two hundred and fifty years ago and an old mail bag. Mrs. McConnell gave a finely framed photograph of the first railroad train. The bound volumes number forty-nine, and the pamphlets sixty-one.

Daniel Batchelor offered the following resolution: That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety and advisability of removing the remains of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer from the farm in Danube, Herkimer county, to the monument grounds at Oriskany. The resolution was adopted, and Hon. Samuel Earl, Hon. Titus Sheard, of Herkimer, and Hon. Henry J. Coggeshall, of Oneida, were appointed as such committee.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its annual business meeting in New York city on the thirteenth day of April at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, its president, Hon. John Jay, in the chair. There was an unusually large attendance. Reports of great interest were read by the secretary, also by the treasurer showing the prosperous condition of society, and by the chairman of the library committee reciting many important gifts for the benefit of the excellent library which the society has founded, and which is shelved in the elegant fire-proof building of the library of Columbia college, accessible at all times for study and reference. Officers of the society for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, Hon. John Jay; vice-presidents, Edward F. De Lancey, Chauncey M. Depew, Henry M. Lester, Richard Olney, Hon. A. T. Clearwater, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop for Boston, Rev. D. D. Dem-

arest, D.D. for New Jersey, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard for Delaware, Joseph S. Perot for Pennsylvania, Colonel Richard L. Maury for Virginia, Daniel Ravenel for South Carolina; secretary, Banyer Clarkson; treasurer, P. W. Gallaudet.

A brilliant reception was held by the Huguenot Society of America at 404 Fifth avenue in the afternoon of the same day, from four to six o'clock, which brought many distinguished members from other cities, and in which entertainment two hundred or more guests participated, representing the best old families of New York and the country. The reception committee, who wore the historic white knot of the Huguenots embellished with a marigold centre, were President John Jay, his daughter Mrs. Chapman, Edward F. De Lancey, Chauncey M. Depew, Frederick J. De Peyster, Henry G. Marquand, William M. Lawrence, Peter B. Olney, Augustus C. Gurnee, Charles Lanier, Lawrence Turnure, Rev. Henry M. Baird, Rev. A. G. Vermilye, Banyer Clarkson, Henry M. Lester, R. F. Cutting, Miss Eliza C. Jay, Mrs. H. C. Stimson, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Mr. George S. Bowdoin, Miss Catharine Van Rensselaer, Mrs. James M. Lawton, Mrs. William H. Budd, and Mr. J. C. Pumpelly. A more interesting occasion has rarely been chronicled in New York social life. Among the well-known clergymen present were Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D.D., Rev. Dr. Da Costa, Rev. C. M. Pyne, Rev. W. W. Atterbury, Rev. Dr. Charles H. Gardner, Rev. Dr. Edward O. Flagg, Rev. Dr. Henry M. Baird, Rev. Dr. Gallaudet, and Rev. Dr. Demarest.

BOOK NOTICES

A PLEA FOR LIBERTY, An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation. Essays by various writers, with an introduction by HERBERT SPENCER. Edited by THOMAS MACKAY. 8vo, pp. 414. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1891.

In the preceding number of this magazine we called attention to Professor Graham's work on Socialism. We are now happy to state that the complement of that volume is to be found in the book before us. It is an able answer to the socialistic arguments, an answer, indeed, so weighty and timely that we bespeak for it the attention of our readers. Disputants and politicians will do well to examine its pages. Mr. Spencer's introduction shows us that discontent always accompanies a large measure of freedom, and that contentment is a characteristic of an early stage of development. He reviews the advance of social standards and emphasizes the improvement of present social conditions, and demonstrates that socialism means the enslavement of the masses, and, necessarily, an awful oligarchy composed of the taskmasters and socialistic leaders.

The essays on the various topics selected for discussion, such as state socialism, with its element of state ownership of railways, telegraphs, and other electrical appliances, challenge the strictest attention of the thoughtful, for the argument is very close and the statistics are convincing. The book is a plea for personal liberty and a condemnation of state interference in the realm of private contract. It is an eloquent argument for fair legislation which favors neither the classes nor the masses, but which preserves the liberty and freedom of all. Just now, when the leaven of socialism pervades even the ranks of the educated, these thoughtful essays on vital subjects, such as trades unions, housing the poor, and state ownership, denote fully their fallacies, and that individualism is the secret of progress and must triumph in the end, the agitators to the contrary notwithstanding.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

By L. E. CHITTENDEN, His Register of the Treasury. 8vo, pp. 470. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1891.

The author of this exceedingly interesting and valuable book is the last surviving officer of the United States Treasury in President Lincoln's administration. He has no purpose in the production of the work beyond that of placing upon

permanent record his personal knowledge of many details of the events of the time that were imperfectly or inaccurately described in the numerous current publications. He says: "There were giants in those days. It has been a labor of love for me to recall some of their mighty works. The great war cabinet, the great soldier, and the President greater than all combined, have passed away." Mr. Chittenden opens his volume with a sketch of the noted political campaign which settled the presidential contest in 1860, then furnishes some informing notes on the peace conference, and gives a vivid picture of the scene when the election of Lincoln was announced at a joint meeting of the two houses of Congress: "The senate retired to its own chamber. A dozen angry, disappointed men were on their feet before the door had closed upon the last senator, clamoring for recognition by the speaker. For a few minutes the tumult was so great that it was impossible to restore order. There were jeers for the 'rail-splitter,' sharp and fierce shouts for 'cheers for Jeff Davis,' and 'cheers for South Carolina,' and hard names and curses for 'old Scott' broke out everywhere on the floor and in the gallery of the crowded hall." Of the conspiracy of assassination, the story of Mr. Lincoln's journey through Baltimore, and the scenes at his first inauguration, the reader will learn in these pages much that is new and intensely dramatic. At Mr. Lincoln's informal reception the evening after his arrival in Washington, Mr. William C. Rives referred to the request of the governor of Virginia that he (Rives) should unite in the grand effort to save the Union, saying: "But the clouds that hang over it are very dark." Mr. Lincoln quietly replied: "My course is as plain as a turnpike road. It is marked out by the Constitution. I am in no doubt which way to go. Suppose, now, we all stop discussing and try the experiment of obedience to the Constitution and the laws."

"Making United States Bonds Under Pressure" forms the twenty-fifth chapter of Mr. Chittenden's admirable work, and is indeed one of its most striking features. There were ten millions of these bonds to be signed in the seventy hours between the moment when the register of the treasury was summoned to the executive mansion and the hour when the securities must be on board the special train that would carry them to the steamer; and the bonds must be regularly and lawfully issued, with nothing on their face to indicate that the issue was not made in the ordinary course of business. We cordially commend this chapter to every reader. The forty-second chapter, entitled "The Impartial Judgment of President Lincoln," is another record of great public interest,

referring as it does to the resignation of Secretary Chase, and the question of forgery that had arisen in the sub-treasury at New York, which resulted in the resignation of the assistant treasurer, Mr. Cisco. There really is no part of Mr. Chittenden's well-written volume that is otherwise than intensely readable and instructive. Space forbids our pointing out its many attractions for lovers of historic truth, but the book will unquestionably find a place in every good library on the continent.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DICKINSON. 1732-1808. By CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 437. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1891.

The story of John Dickinson's life embraces an important part of the history of Pennsylvania. He occupied a peculiar position in that province, particularly from the years 1760 to 1786. Dr. Stillé, the able author of the book, says he was the first to advocate resistance to the ministerial plan of taxation on constitutional grounds, and that for more than a year after the enforcement of the Boston Port Bill, in the opinion of his contemporaries, "he controlled the counsels of the country." He maintained, however, that the Declaration of Independence was inopportune, and we have in this work a full discussion and explanation of his course in that matter, as also of his position and influence in the Continental Congress. Dr. Stillé says: "It is a matter of regret, not to say of reproach, that no one has hitherto undertaken fully to portray the public career of this remarkable man, and to explain his conduct and motives by reference to the peculiar position of the country, and especially of Pennsylvania, during the crisis of the Revolution." The volume contains an interesting sketch of Dickinson's early life and education, shows his aptitude from the beginning as a lawyer, and his varied experiences on entering public life. The sketch introduced by the author of the history of Pennsylvania prior to 1755, is a most fitting illustrative feature of the volume, which, together with the "Causes of Dispute with the Proprietors," prepares the reader to understand subsequent events.

Mr. Dickinson's attitude in relation to all the important events of provincial and revolutionary history is illustrated by copious details of the part taken by Pennsylvania in the struggle. The reasons why so large a portion of the people of that state was opposed to independence at the time that it was proclaimed, are clearly stated and discussed. The journals of the assembly form the authority for the somewhat novel view which Dr. Stillé takes of the position of Pennsylvania; and it would appear that the account

given in these records of events of that important crisis, and especially of the prominent part played by Mr. Dickinson, is very different from that to be found in our popular histories. The abilities and experience of Mr. Dickinson were called into action in a wider field at the termination of the war, when the question of a proper system of government was before the public mind. He was the president of the convention at Annapolis, and was afterward a member of the convention which met at Philadelphia in the summer, 1787, and framed the Constitution. Dr. Stillé has prepared this excellent volume at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with the two-fold object of recalling to the present generation the memory of one of the most conspicuous statesmen of that state for twenty-five well-rounded years, whose name should be consecrated in history as one of the great worthies of the Revolution, and of explaining the nature and extent of his influence.

ADELINE'S ART DICTIONARY. Containing a complete index of all terms used in Art, Architecture, Heraldry, and Archæology. Translated from the French and enlarged, with nearly 200 illustrations. 12mo, pp. 422. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1891.

The plan of this dictionary includes all such terms as are generally employed in painting, sculpture, engraving, and architecture, whether descriptive of real objects, or the principles of action which rule the mind and guide the hand of the artist. It is a most useful handbook for all persons interested in art, as both ancient and modern terms, such as are used in describing the contents of a museum or picture gallery, are here explained. Although Adeline's name appears on the title-page, and nothing of importance which has made the *Lexique des Termes d'Art*, by M. Jules Adeline, so admirable an authority, has been omitted, the dictionary contains a large number of definitions and illustrations not embraced in that work. For instance, under the separate heading of *Royal Academy* we here find a concise account of our own Royal Academy, its foundation in 1768 by George III., and its objects; and under the head of *Academician* we are told how the name is applied in England with respect to the members of the Royal Academy. The technical terms for antique vases, mediæval pottery, sacred and domestic instruments, civil and military costume, armor, arms, indeed, everything which forms the component parts of a picture, are here described. It is an excellent work, based on the best of authorities, and thoroughly revised and brought up to date by an expert.

HANNIBAL. A History of the Art of War among the Carthaginians and Romans down to the battle of Pynda, 168 B. C., with a detailed account of the second Punic War. With 227 charts, maps, etc. By THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE. 8vo, pp. 682. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

This is by no means a military text-book. It is history pure and simple. But so far as the story of the origin and growth of the art of war is concerned, it will be of special value to the military student, and cannot fail to interest the general reader. The portrait of Hannibal forms the frontispiece of the volume, and the author confesses to some slight degree of hero-worship in tracing his remarkable career, remarking, in his preface, "the sum of all which the ancient authors tell us describes a man and a captain on whom hero-worship is not wasted." We are conducted back to the time when Carthage was the most powerful colony planted by Tyre, when Carthage was first at sea, and Rome on land. When Rome fell to quarreling with her great rival, unwilling to content herself with less than the supremacy on both elements. No one can turn the pages of this cleverly written work without becoming deeply interested in the ancient people of the world. The Romans were always open to learning, and what they learned was put to good uses. The Greeks were experts in the theory of war, were head and shoulders above any other nation for a long period; but with all their cleverness they refused to learn from their neighbors, would not alter their organization to suit changing times and conditions, and finally remained at a standstill. The Romans, less cultured and able, had the advantage in flexibility and good sense; the Greeks had developed an art they could not use; without material the art was of no avail. The Romans had no such art, but they had an army well drilled and disciplined. When the clash came the scientific system of the Greeks could not stand the blow of the less intellectual but stronger opponent. The Romans were accustomed to warlike exercises, as if they were born with weapons in their hands; thus real battles brought them nothing new or difficult. The author requests the reader "to frequently refer to the table of dates, as well as to the large map at the end of the volume, so as to keep the skeleton of the entire Italian war in mind, that he may conceive a clear impression of the gigantic whole of Hannibal's unequalled campaigns."

HISTORY OF THE VIRGINIA FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1788. Vol. II. [Vir-

ginia Historical Collections, new series, vol. X.] With some account of the eminent Virginians of that era who were members of the body. By HUGH BLAIR GRISBY, LL.D. A biographical sketch of the author, and illustrative notes. Edited by R. A. Brock. 8vo, pp. 411. Published by the society. 1891. Richmond, Virginia.

The editor of this work in his preface tells us that the rules and customs of the British parliament were closely observed in the deliberative assemblies of the Virginia colony, and of the commonwealth in its earlier days. He says, the habit of every member making a speech on every subject, which has caused so much prolixity in our public proceedings, had not then become the fashion with the public men of Virginia. Aside from the observance of the well-known customs of parliaments, there were other considerations which tended to repress much speaking. The sessions of the house of burgesses were short, rarely exceeding a month, and were usually held in May—a season precious in the eyes of those who derived their sustenance from agriculture. Political considerations also had their weight, for it was in the power of the royal governor to prorogue the house at pleasure. It should also be observed that the greatest prompter to modern loquacity did not then exist—there were no reporters, and no newspapers in which reports could be published.

This volume contains valuable sketches of the lives and services of some of the patriotic men of importance in the convention, among whom were Archibald Stuart, Gabriel Jones, Thomas Lewis, John Stuart, the son-in-law of Lewis; Andrew Moore, of Greenbrier, who had a controlling influence in effecting the ratification of the Constitution; Thomas Mason, George Nicholas, Colonel William McKee, Colonel William Fleming, George Jackson, and Alexander White, one of the ablest men of his time. Some one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to his interesting public career, chiefly in connection with the most perplexing topics of the time, as presented in this volume. It is most interesting, in view of subsequent events, to note that the subject of slavery was discussed in the Virginia councils during the year 1786, and a petition was presented on the 8th of November of that year in favor of a general emancipation of the negroes. The petitioners declared themselves "firmly persuaded that it is contrary to the fundamental principles of the Christian religion to keep such a considerable number of our fellow-creatures in this state in slavery; that it is also an express violation of the principles on which our government is founded." The thought given to this subject, the county petitions and the debates, are enlightening to the people of to-day.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

[Copy of the celebrated portrait in London by Sir A. More, after the miniature which the Queen of Spain caused to be painted for herself, believed to be the only authentic portrait of Columbus at that period of his life.]

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

JUNE, 1891

No. 6

GLIMPSES OF THE RAILROAD IN HISTORY

THE statement that the world's whole stock of money of every kind—gold, silver, and paper—would purchase only about one-third of its railroads is most suggestive. "Almost every distinctive feature of modern business," writes Professor Haring, "whether good or bad, finds in railroad history at once its chief cause and its feeblest development."

Statistics have become with much handling apparently petrified, and in their association with rails and railroad have reached such extraordinary proportions that they fail to convey ideas which can be readily grasped and comprehended by the ordinary mind. When we read that there are three hundred thousand miles of rails in the United States alone, enough in length to make twelve steel girdles around the earth, it creates no deeper impression than the mere fact reiterated that "the world is round and like a ball, seems swinging in the air." Yet there has never been anything more wonderful in history than the invention and establishment of the railroad; and the problems which have confronted the wise men of the present century in securing the results by which millions of travellers are constantly passing with celerity and safety from one part of a country to the other have been invested with romantic interest from the beginning. The true story has all the effective qualities of fable with vastly more color and picturesque fascination.

All efforts to harness steam into a propelling power, to bring it under the control of the human intellect for practical purposes, were derided for many centuries by the incredulous public, and the heroic men who were foremost in schemes of invention and contrivances to this end were regarded with commiseration as victims of a harmless form of lunacy. In our peculiar age they would have been called "cranks." They had no precedents from which to borrow useful information, and no guides in their experiments. The intellect and ingenuity of almost every civilized country on the face of the globe came into exercise, more or less, on the subject, and yet nothing of practical importance to the world in the way of travel on land or water was achieved until 1807, when Robert Fulton brought